The Christian Subject's Duty

TO HIS

LAWFUL PRINCE.

IN A

SERMON

PREACH'D

January the 30th, $17\frac{15}{16}$,

AT

St. *ETHELBURGA*'s.

By LUKE MILBOURNE, Rector of St. *Ethelburga*'s.

Videbis victos vestros a Carolo V^to captosque & affectos contumelia privatos etiam Bonis; in Gallia captum primo bello Condæum; tertio occisum, Amiralium semper victum, tandem trucidatum, cum magna procerum turba; in Belgio itidem Orangium globo prostratum; certe judicare aliud non possum, quam illorum arma Deo fuisse.

Jac. Bongarsii Epistola ad Joachimum, Joacchimi Camerarii filium.

LONDON, Printed by H. MEERE, at the *Black Fryer* in *Black Fryers*, for G. SAWBRIDGE at the *Three Golden Flower-de-Luces* in *Little Britain*. 1716.

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John xviii. 36.

Jesus *answer'd, My Kingdom is not of this World: If my Kingdom were of this World, then would my Servants fight, that I should not be deliver'd to the* Jews: *But now is my Kingdom not from hence.*

THIS Text contains the Reply of the blessed *Jesus*, now brought before *Pontius Pilate*, the *Roman* President of *Judea*, to that Accusation which the Scribes, and Pharisees, and Chief Priests, had brought against him: Their crafty Malice troubled not *Pilate* much, with the Story of his assuming to himself the Title of *the Son of God*, and so making himself *equal with God*; nor with his pretending to be *the Christ*, who had been promis'd in elder Days to redeem *Israel* from their Sins: These would have been idle and impertinent Tales, to one wholly unacquainted with the Principles of the *Jewish* Religion; whose Business it was only to take Care of the *Roman* Interests in *Judea*, and how to please his Master *Tiberius*, who had vested in him so very great a Trust.

His Enemies therefore charge him with asserting, that he himself was *Christ, a King*, and therefore with forbidding Men *to pay Tribute to Cesar*. These Accusations indeed, if they would but stick, were very material; and *Pilate*, as a Substitute of *Cesar's*, was bound to vindicate his Master's Right and Title to the Government of *Judea*, against any Pretenders whosoever. *Pilate*, as ill a Man as he was, was not so throughly satisfy'd of the Veracity of our Lord's Accusers, as to take every Thing they laid against him, upon Trust, or upon their Honesty, but he examines the Prisoner himself. *Pilate* saw well enough, that the outward Appearance of the *holy Jesus*, was such as could not threaten much Danger to the mighty Powers of the *Roman* Empire; a Man who did not take upon him to make Alliances with any of the Enemies of *Rome*; who pretended not either to raise Forces in *Judea*, or to depend on any foreign Assistances, nor to carry any thing of Pride or irregular Ambition in his Mien or Behaviour; nay, a Man who *had not so much as where to lay his Head*, did not seem very likely to set up for Royalty, or, at that Time of Day, to assume the Imperal Character.

When *Pilate* first ask'd these pious Patriots, what Accusation they brought against the Prisoner, they seem to stand very much upon their Reputation; *If*, say they, *he were not a Malefactor, we would not have deliver'd him up to thee.* No, good Men! they were admir'd by the poor deluded Multitude, for their imaginary Holiness, Mortification, Self-Denial, and all the showy Parts of Religion; and sure they could be no Deceivers; they never

knew what Malice, Jealousy, Faction, or Ambition meant; and therefore, had they not been abundantly appriz'd of the Prisoner's notorious Guilt, they'd never have prosecuted him before so just and so discerning a Governor as *Pilate* was. They tell him, indeed, that *they had a Law*, and that *by that Law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God*; but that was only by the By, and they would not insist upon it before him; and, perhaps, they who bolted out that Accusation, had no great Thanks from their more politick Companions, since, by that Insinuation, *Pilate* easily discover'd that *Jesus* was put into his Hands only *out of Envy*; and he, to fit them in their own Way, bids them *take him and judge him* by that Law of theirs; but Providence having determin'd Matters otherwise, the leading *Jews* very warily declare themselves to have no Power in their present conquer'd State, *to put any Man to Death*; and, that he might take that Judgment into his own Hands, they accuse him, either of setting up a *Title to the* Roman *Empire* for himself, or, at least, to *the Monarchy of* Judea, independent of the *Roman* Sovereignty. Now, had he really appear'd, in outward Circumstances, any Way agreeable to such a Pretence, he then had been that very Person, whom they, his Accusers, look'd for: They foolishly hop'd, that the expected *Messias* would have made their *Jerusalem* the glorious Seat of an universal worldly Empire; but while they themselves despis'd his servile Garb, as incapable of any such extraordinary Undertakings, they had yet the malicious Confidence to put him upon *Pilate*, as one likely enough to overturn the *Roman* State.

Pilate views him as one so little likely to effect any such wonderful Changes in the *Roman* World, that he fairly puts the Question to the blessed *Jesus*: *Art thou the King of the Jews?* Our Lord asks him, whether he propos'd that Question of himself, or mov'd by the Report of others? To which, *Pilate* returns, with Calmness enough, *Am I a Jew? i. e.* Am I one who, from any such Principles as I am wholly unacquainted with, could have any Jealousy of thee? *Thine own Nation, and the Chief Priests, have deliver'd thee unto me; What hast thou done?* Or, by what Practices of thine, hast thou put it into the Heads of thy Country-men, that they should charge thee with setting up thy self for a King? The blessed *Jesus* takes no Notice of the spiteful Clamours of the *Jews*; but, in his Answer to *Pilate*, owns himself to be *a King*, but no such King as, at whose ambitious Endeavours, the *Roman* Emperor could take any just Umbrage: It was plain that he had never made Use of those Methods, by which others us'd to aspire to worldly Grandeur: No, says he, for *if my Kingdom had been of this World, then would my Servants fight, that I should not be deliver'd to the* Jews; *but now is my Kingdom not from hence.* By which Words, he intimates, that if he had pretended to a worldly Empire, the *Jews* were none of those over whom he pretended to reign; for

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the *Preſident* himſelf might ſee that they were his declar'd Enemies; and they being ſo, if he had had any worldly Subjects, or Servants, any ſuch as own'd him their Lord and Sovereign, they would have been on his Side, and, according to the Duty of Servants, would have aſſiſted and defended him againſt the Inſults of the *Jews*, his barbarous and irreconcileable Enemies. All this *Pilate* knew well enough; in diſcourſing with him in this Manner, our Lord did not talk with him out of his Reach, but prov'd his Kingdom not to be of this World, by that very Argument which *Pilate*, if call'd upon to that Purpoſe, would have made Uſe of, to prove himſelf the true and faithful Subject and Servant of *Tiberius Ceſar*. From this Anſwer, then, of our Maſter to *Pilate*, we learn, that

The Subjects, or Servants, of all lawful Princes, are oblig'd, by the very Nature of Government, and the Agreement of all Mankind, to endeavour, by Force of Arms, if otherwiſe they cannot, to reſcue and defend their Sovereigns from any Injuries offer'd them by any of their Enemies.

This is what he, who could not deceive, nor be deceiv'd, laid before the *Roman* Governor, as an *Hypotheſis* upon which he might build a valid Argument, to prove his own Innocence, as to that Crime which his Enemies charg'd him with, and as a Truth which *Pilate*, tho' an ignorant Heathen, was as well appris'd of as any Man. It's true, our Lord was ſilent, as to other Things alledg'd againſt him, and to ſome Queſtions propos'd to him; for had he anſwer'd them directly, and cloath'd his Anſwer with all that Brightneſs of Wiſdom and Eloquence, which he, as Man, was Maſter of, the Hearts of the Multitude would have been ſo turn'd againſt his principal Perſecutors, that inſtead of crying, *Crucify him! Crucify him!* they'd have *Hoſanna'd* him, and have turn'd the Stream of their Fury againſt them; ſo that the *Turkiſh Dream* might have been litterally verify'd, and the *Judge*, and not the *Criminal*, have ſuffer'd Death. As, if he had pleas'd too, he could have commanded *more than twelve Legions of Angels*, a Legion of thoſe fiery Miniſters of Heaven, inſtead of every ſingle Diſciple, to defend him; but that then *the Scriptures could not have been fulfill'd*; *that thus it muſt be*, if ever a ſinful World were redeem'd from the threat'ning Vengeance of an angry God.

Now, tho' it be the preſent Mode, to make the *incarnate Son*, or *Word*, or *Reaſon* of God, as ſome Pretenders to Criticiſm would have him call'd, ſpeak and argue as looſely and impertinently, as thoſe miſcall'd *the Men of Senſe* in our Days, and make his *Apoſtles* to ſpeak one Thing, and mean another, or any Thing that an irreligious Head can hammer out, we'll not trouble our ſelves to be ſo very much in Faſhion, but we'll civilly ſuppoſe, that our Saviour, in this laſt Act of his Life on Earth, being before ſo Great a Man, and having, on all Occaſions, ſhew'd himſelf ſo very reſpectful to the Authority and Rights of

Ceſar, would ſpeak pertinently, and argue cloſely. He offer'd not to put any Fallacy upon *Pilate*, nor did he offer a Plea to him in his own Vindication, which would not bear the Teſt; but he offers the common Senſe of all Mankind, who either had any tolerable Notions of Government, or of the Reaſon of Things, againſt the Calumnies of his Accuſers. — *If my Kingdom were of this World, then would my Servants fight, that I ſhould not be deliver'd to the Jews.* Nothing can be dangerous to the *Roman* Power, which is not in this World, and viſible to every Eye; ſuch a Kingdom, ſuch a Government I pretend not to; if I did, I'm not ſo vain as to aſſume the Royal Title, without any Enſigns of Royalty; I would not pretend to be a King in this World, without Servants, or to hold a Kingdom without Subjects: But if I had a Kingdom here, and had Subjects and Servants, doubtleſs my Servants would be like the Servants of other Princes and Potentates; they'd be as zealous for my Honour, they'd adhere to my Intereſts, they'd be as forward to aſſiſt and defend me againſt my Enemies, as thoſe of other Monarchs uſe to be, as the Subjects of *Rome*, as your ſelf would be ready to do. But it's plain I have no Partiſans, I have no Guard; and if I had, I have ſhewn, that I would not let them uſe their Swords in my Cauſe, but perform'd a Miracle to demonſtrate my peaceable Inclinations, my Freedom from all manner of Ambition, and my being altogether unconcern'd in the Glories of this World; therefore, my Kingdom is not of this World, I am no Pretender to an Empire over the natural Offspring of *Iſrael*; ſo that you need not be jealous, or afraid of me.

Thoſe whom we call *lawful Princes*, in the Propoſition deduc'd from the Text, are ſuch as are ſettled in that Dignity by the *ancient and fundamental Laws* of every particular Body politick. They are ſuch as neither intrude themſelves by Fraud or Violence to the Wrong of others, nor ſuch as are irregularly or tumultuouſly obtruded upon others, by a Number of Men gotten together on their own Heads, without any Call from a ſuperior lawful Authority; nor ſuch as by raiſing Parties and Factions againſt the preſent, indiſputable, rightful Governors, get themſelves ſubſtituted in their Places. Now, all Kingdoms being either hereditary or elective, lawful Princes in hereditary Kingdoms are ſuch as, upon the Demiſe of the Prince Regent, are immediately the ſovereign Lords of any Country, by their Birth; which, according to the original Conſtitutions of ſuch Countries, they have as good a Title to, as, by the ſame Laws, every Free-man's Child has to the Eſtate of his Father, out of which a ſtronger Purſe and Intereſt may keep him for a while; but when true Law, and impartial Juſtice, takes Place, the right Heir frequently recovers it. On the ſide of ſuch a Prince, the fundamental Laws of ſuch a Country always ſtand; and there's never any Deviation from ſuch Laws, but it's follow'd by a prodigious Effuſion of Blood and Treaſure; for, where Men once break in upon ſuch a Conſtitution, every

every Man is ready to set up for himself; and Laws once set aside, are but a poor Security to any Country for the future.

In an elective Monarchy, a *lawful King* is usually such a one as, according to the standing Laws and Customs of such a Country, is chosen by the Majority of Men of such Characters or Qualifications, as have, either by a tacit or an explicit Consent of the whole Commonalty, met on such Occasions, and in whose Judgment the rest of the People readily acquiesce. Such a Prince, not being born to Crowns or Scepters, must accept of them only on such Conditions as those who chuse him think fit; he's at his Choice whether he'll accept of the Dignity offer'd upon such Conditions, or not; but when he has accepted it on the Conditions propos'd, he's under the strongest Obligation in the World to perform them. We know that in the *Roman* Empire, tho' the Monarchy was Elective, and the Emperors most commonly chosen by the Military Men, yet they generally had no other Conditions put upon them, than what the *Israelites* propos'd to *Samuel*, when they desir'd that they might have a King, *viz. That they might be like all other Nations*; *that their King might judge them, and go out before them, and fight their Battels.* 1 Sam. 8. 20. Hence never were Princes more absolute, than the Emperors of *Rome*; nor ever was any Empire more prosperous than that, while their Emperors, whether Heathen or Christian, were absolute, arbitrary, and uncontrollable: Nor ever did any Prince shew a truer Sense of his own Authority, and the Extent of it, than that pious and excellent Monarch *Valentinian* the 1st, who when, of a Field-Officer, he was chosen Emperor by the Army, and carry'd on their Shoulders in a triumphant Pomp, and his Electors desir'd him, according to their late Custom, to nominate a Partner with himself in the Government, with a Majesty becoming that Dignity he was call'd to, answer'd them, 'It was in your Choice, my fellow Soldiers, whether you would have bestow'd the Imperial Purple on me, or not; 'but since you have done it, it becomes not you to prescribe; I shall 'act as I think fit; it's your Business and Duty to be satisfy'd, And, indeed, according to this Method, all arbitrary Princes, whether in an hereditary or elective Monarchy, perpetually act; and the Subjects have generally liv'd the most *quietly and peaceably*; and such are thought, by wise Men, to live the *most happily*, who are under such Monarchs as make the fewest Relaxations of their Power.

We have no Reason to believe that *Commonwealths*, as distinguish'd from *Monarchies*, are of equal Antiquity with them, since we have none left upon Record in History, which did not rise from some Dissatisfactions in the People for the Abuse of the Regal Power. Where-ever such Republicks have been constituted, that of *Venice* only excepted, they have not been settled without a great deal of Contention and Difficulty: That of *Rome* in particular was not thoroughly settled in fewer than two hundred

hundred and fifty Years; but where they have been fully ſettled in a longer Courſe of Time, where all the proper Claimants to Kingſhip, have reſign'd their Rights, and acknowledg'd the preſent Settlement as juſt and independent, there the governing Lords or People, as being poſſeſs'd of the ſupreme and uncontrollable Power, are to be look'd upon as lawful Princes; for it's the rightful Power makes the Sovereign, and they who are poſſeſs'd of it, are Princes effectively, whether they be one, or more; and tho' they are never ſo often chang'd, yet, ſo long as thoſe in preſent Poſſeſſion of the governing Power, *go out*, and thoſe who take their Places, *come in*, according to the ſtanding Cuſtoms or Conſtitutions of the Place or Country, they only are the lawful Governors there; and, if in any Inſurrection or Rebellion, a tumultuous Mob ſhould force any of the preſent lawful Governors out of their Stations, and violently thruſt others into them; all ſuch ſo thruſt in, would be Uſurpers, and would have no juſt Authority to execute the old Laws, or to make new, ſince, by their Uſurpations, they violate all Laws in being before. Now, the ſtanding Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions of every Country, are the Meaſures by which the Juſtice of the preſent Government is to be examin'd. In conquer'd Countries, indeed, the Will of the Conqueror is uſually the Law of the Body politick, which he has brought under him, unleſs, out of ſome politick Reaſons, or the Goodneſs of his own Nature, he thinks fit to re-confirm their old Laws, if good; or, with their own Conſent and Advice, to give them better than they had before.

Now, every Government, or politick Body, conſiſts of *Perſons governing, and of Perſons governed:* A King or States without Subjects, or Subjects without a King or States to govern them, are an Abſurdity even in Imagination; they are *Correlates*, and can't ſubſiſt one without the other; that *Bauble of a State of Nature*, which ſome make a Noiſe with, is only the Chimera of a few atheiſtical Heads, by what Names or Titles ſoever dignify'd or diſtinguiſh'd. The Deſign of God, in the Inſtitution of Government, was primarily, that the Management of the lower World might, in ſome Meaſure, repreſent that of the ſuperior World, and its numerous Inhabitants; a Government ſuited to which, muſt, of Neceſſity, tend to the Peace and Happineſs, both of the Governed and Governors; the Difference between thoſe Governments lying chiefly in this, that all the Hoſts of Heaven were created *full, and at once*; the Inhabitants of the lower World were to *increaſe and multiply*, and conſequently Time would every Day produce more to govern, and more to be govern'd: But all that original Power with which Governors were at firſt inveſted, and all that Reaſon which made Men deſire to be under Government, was immediately from God, and directed by him, and would have been beneficial to the Inhabitants of this viſible World, tho' Man had continu'd in his firſt Innocence; as we cannot doubt, but that the Felicity of the bleſſed Angels themſelves, conſiſts

consists in their being under the Government of their Maker. The first Man was made *absolute Sovereign* of all the visible living Creatures in the World, if his original Commission be of any Validity, while *Eve* was yet only in *Adam*'s Loins, when God blessed him, and said, *Be fruitful* Gen. 1. 28. *and multiply, and replenish the Earth, and subdue it, and have Dominion over the Fishes of the Sea, and over the Fowls of the Air, and over every living Thing that moveth on the Earth.* And this Commission, as to its full Force and Effect, would never have been objected to in any Particular whatsoever, had not the Sin and Disobedience of our first Parents, corrupted Nature, and put all the visible Animals in the World in Arms against him, who had been a Rebel against his Creator, and fill'd Mankind, as increasing and under a Curse, full of Hatred, Contentions, and Animosities one against another.

In this unhappy State of ours, it was, that as God was pleas'd to reprieve sinful Man from that Death he had incurr'd, and to continue his Commission so far as Sin had left it practicable, so God gave Man something of Policy and Courage, suited to the then degenerated State of Things, that what the subject Creature might obstinately refuse, that the Wisdom and Reason of Man might, by various Ways of Address, or by Force, compel them to. He planted in the immediate Descendants from *Adam*, not only an Awe of him, as the *universal Sovereign*, but a Principle of Obedience to him as a *natural Father*; and in the Increase of their fellow Creatures, and such as they were most conversant with, gave them a frequent View of the Dependance of the Creatures upon their Parents, and the Care of such Parents to provide for, and to defend their Young; which Care of Parents for their Children, and which Dependance of the Children upon their Parents, must naturally, and by Instinct, as well as rationally, and by Discourse, imprint upon the Minds of Children, a perpetual Veneration of their Parents; and upon the Hearts of Parents, a perpetual Affection and Inclination to their Children, even when they should be providentially separated, and seem to have no farther Need of one another; of which, even in this decrepit Age of the World, we meet with some very remarkable Instances.

But when the Increase of their Race made it necessary for Mankind to separate from one another, that they might get more Room for their Subsistance, this natural Inclination of Parents and Children, reciprocally one to another, still continuing, he must be a *Man of the present Age*, who would not suppose that the travelling Children would take Leave of their Fathers, and beg their Blessing, and their farther necessary Instructions; or that their first Parents would not send them away without their Blessing, their Counsel, or without imparting to them some of their Authority, for the better Management of their own Families, and their multiplying Posterity: And the same God who had created Government among Mankind, first taught the Younger to be subject to

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the Elder, the Children to their Parents, inſpir'd them with ſuch Reaſons as convinc'd them of the Benefit of, and Safety in their Submiſſion to their Elders, and to Perſons of more Courage, Experience, and Wiſdom, than themſelves. The ſame God taught the Parents and Elders too, that Wiſdom and Conduct that they eaſily underſtood, that their own immediate worldly Happineſs conſiſted chiefly in the Proſperity and Welfare of thoſe who, as being related, could not but be dear to them; which too could not but contribute to their Parents Greatneſs and Authority: And he gave the younger and inferior Sort, that true Senſe of Things, as to know that the Greatneſs, Authority, and inward Satisfaction of Mind, which their Superiors might enjoy, would tend moſt to their own Good; would make their Governors the more capable of promoting their Welfare, of protecting them from all Dangers, and of attaining to thoſe great and good Ends, in Expectation of which, the *All-wiſe God* inſtituted, and the *All-wanting Sons of* Adam wiſh'd for, and readily ſubmitted to Government.

What was thus ſettled in the old World, after *that* had been deſtroy'd by the univerſal Deluge, was renew'd to it when reſtor'd in the Perſon and Poſterity of righteous *Noah*. *Noah* had, doubtleſs, as great Authority over his Deſcendants, as *Adam* had enjoy'd before, and purſu'd the ſame Methods for re-peopling the World, and for its Government when peopled. God was pleas'd ſometimes, out of the ordinary Courſe, to raiſe ſome extraordinary Spirits, and to endue them with ſuch Majeſty, Prudence, Eloquence, and Courage, as made mighty Numbers admire them, follow them, ſubmit to them, look upon it as one of their greateſt Felicities in this World, to live under their Commands; and ſuch were they who gave Beginnings to the greateſt Empires in the World. Such a one *Nimrod* ſeems to have been, who gave the firſt Beginnings to the *Aſſyrian* Empire; whatever his true Character was, that *he was a mighty Hunter before the Lord*, means only, that he was one who, with abundance of Courage, and an indefatigable Induſtry, endeavour'd, by continual Hunting, to clear the Foreſts, Mountains, and waſte Grounds, from ſavage and dangerous Beaſts, that they might become ſafe Habitations for Men. This Undertaking drew great Numbers after him, both for Exerciſe and Profit, and made them admire his Prudence and Sagacity in his Undertaking, as well as his Valour in performing ſo great a Work; and therefore, to be willing, under the Influence of his Conduct, to take Poſſeſſion of thoſe formerly dangerous, and to enjoy the Benefit of thoſe now better cultivated Lands; theſe Incidents made *Nimrod* become a *mighty Man upon the Earth*, and to be able to found a powerful Monarchy, by building and peopling of *Babel, and Ereck, and Accad, and Calnoh, in the Land of Shinar*; *and out of that Land he went out into Aſſyria, and built Niniveh, and the City Rehoboth, and Calah, and Reſen, between Nineveh and Calah*; *the ſame is a great City.*

Gen. 10. 8.

And

And its no Wonder, that when God inſpir'd the Multitude with the Deſire to live under ſome Government, for their own Security, that they follow'd one of ſo great Abilities, both of Body and Mind, and became his Subjects.

Nor can we wonder, that one of ſo great a Reach, and ſo noble an Ambition, drew many to join in his Deſigns, to promote his Intereſts, and to ſecond and encourage his generous and aſpiring Nature; or that I interpret his being a mighty Hunter before the Lord, as I do, ſince the Increaſe of ſavage Beaſts in Lands thin of Inhabitants, or not at all inhabited, is uſual; Whence God forbad the *Iſraelites* to deſtroy the *Canaanites* all at once, leaſt the *Beaſts of the Field ſhould multiply againſt them, and deſtroy them*; and the terrible Deſolations which *Shalmanaſar*, the *Aſſyrian*, made in the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, gave Way to the Increaſe of Lyons in that Country, which God made uſe of as Inſtruments of his Vengeance againſt an ignorant and idolatrous People now living there.

The Greatneſs of ſome Men in thoſe early Ages, and the Multitude of their Friends and Followers, gave them Encouragement to deſire to be greater, and to compel more to come under the Shadow of their Wings; ſince *little Princes*, ſuch as *Joſhua* conquer'd in *Canaan*, were not able to protect them from their Violence and Oppreſſion; and we know it's a receiv'd Maxim of our modern *Politicians, and the fundamental Principle of their pretended Loyalty*, that they owe no Faith to any Prince whoſoever, how rightfully ſoever poſſeſs'd of that Dignity, and how well qualify'd ſoever for the Execution of his Office, any longer than he's able to protect them from the Injuries of an Invader or Uſurper; as all *Iſrael* were in the Right, and acted like wiſe and good Men, who ſubmitted to *Abſalom*, when *David* had abdicated the Government, by retiring beyond *Jordan*; and they were every whit as wiſe, when they were ſo eager to bring *David* home to his own Houſe, when the uſurping Rebel was dead; but they happen'd to fail a little in their Meaſures, when they liſten'd to the Trumpet of *Sheba, the Son of Bichri*, and fell in with the Rebel-Party, before they knew what the Event would be. Again, the Greatneſs of ſome, rais'd the Jealouſy and Envy of others, who thought themſelves and their own Glories eclips'd by the Reputation and Succeſſes of ſuch active and enterprizing Men: So the Injuries and the Oppreſſions on one ſide, and the Suſpicion and Envy on the other, produc'd Wars; on one ſide, for the Defence and Vindication of their ſuffering Subjects or Allies, and putting a Stop to the Encroachments of their growing Neighbours; on the other ſide, for puſhing on their own ambitious Schemes, juſtifying their Oppreſſions by increaſing them, and preventing their Neighbours from ever growing ſtrong enough to retaliate the Miſchiefs they have done.

Here now, the Soldiers and Servants of the *more powerful Monarch*, as having been made rich in Honour, and by the Spoils of

submitting Nations, knowing well that such extraordinary Successes are apt to raise Envy, and to multiply Dangers to the Person and Government of their victorious Leader, will be sure to stand by him; they'll look upon Honour and Conquest as entail'd upon them, under such a Monarch, and therefore will endeavour still to keep down all those whom they have got the upper-hand of already, and doubt not but that it's both their Duty and Interest to do so. On the other Hand, the Soldiers of the *lesser Prince*, or Princes, well satisfy'd with his Person and Government, and loath to change one, of whose Prudence, Goodness, and Courage, they have had long Experience, for one whom they know not; being well satisfy'd too of *the Right* their present Sovereign has to their Allegiance and Fidelity, and to the Use of their Lives and Fortunes, they arm as cheerfully, and as readily, in the Defence of their own Prince, to maintain his Cause, and to secure his Throne, as the other can do: And honest Men, who fear God, and look up to him as the only *lawful Disposer of Kingdoms and Government.*, are apt to believe, that a small Forces on the juster Side, will be able to do as much as the greater visible Power of an ambitious Conqueror and Usurper: And that the King, who has but ten thousand Men, having God on his Side, may meet with him, who comes against him with twenty thousand, without any Disadvantage; and if their several Subjects will do so much for their several Princes, upon a War commenc'd between them, much more will such *honest and faithful Subjects and Servants* do, for their own lawful Sovereign, when a factious and discontented Crew are meditating Rebellion, or plotting and confederating to pull him down, and to substitute another in his Place.

It's not to be doubted, but that the better and more sensible Men are, the better Princes they desire and pray for, and wish for them, that they may be glorious, happy, and perfect in all manner of Virtues. But while they are every Day more and more sensible of their own Weakness, and of the many Miscarriages, which, in spite of all their Care and Studies, they themselves are guilty of in the Management of their own private Families, where yet, if they please, they may see with their own Eyes, and hear with their own Ears, without much Dependance on the Truth and Fidelity of others, they can neither wonder nor complain, if there be many great and visible Errors in a great Nation, under the Government of a *David, or a Solomon*; they therefore bear with such Errors, take no Notice of them, put the best Construction upon such Passages as are not agreeable to their own Wishes: They put up Prayers, Supplications, Intercessions, and Thanksgivings for their Princes, begging of God that he would bless, guide, and direct them; give them pious, wise, and faithful Counsellors, and turn every Thing to the best; that so *Men* under their lawful Prince, who is *but a Man, may live quiet and peaceable Lives, in all Godliness and Honesty.* Such

Men

Men observe too, that the loudest Complainers of the Male-Administration of their lawful Governors, are generally the most vile and profligate of Mankind, Men of no Religion, no Morals, no Honour, such Persons as for sparing whom only, the Government can be justly arraign'd. Now, let the Clamours of such Wretches be never so loud, and the Quarrels they pick with their Superiors, be never so plausible; such *good Men, and good Subjects* as I am speaking of, will never concur with, nor enter into, any Confederacies with them. Ill Men, they know, are always given to Change, good and wise Men are always against them; the *former* would not change the Prince they quarrel with, for a better, but for a worse, whether in personal Qualifications, or in Title, for one more obnoxious to themselves, or more complaisant and agreeable to their Humours and Vices: The *latter* know all Changes to be of fatal Consequence, and that Nations are seldom or never quiet, 'till, like fermenting Liquors, they have thrown off all that's foul and poisonous, and return to their original Fineness and Purity.

In such Cases as these, therefore, *good Christians and good Subjects* will always stand by their *lawful and rightful Princes*, with their Lives and Fortunes, not in an empty Address, but in Reality. There are, indeed, too few of such excellent Subjects, as we find by the small Number of those who follow'd *David*, when he fled from his rebellious Son, yet the Fidelity of those *few* prevail'd at last against the *more numerous Rebels*; and so, unless the Sins of a wicked People prevent the Blessing, God's gracious Providence generally favours the righteous Cause at last. Good Subjects will lay down their Lives in Defence of their lawful Prince, against his Rebels, as well as against others, as our Master tells us in the Text, *If his Kingdom had been of this World, then would his Servants have fought, that he might not have been deliver'd to the Jews.* We know that the holy *Jesus was born King of the Jews*; that the *Throne* of his Father *David* was promis'd to him of old, and belong'd to him only of Right; yet, as the Evangelist tells us, *He came to his own, and his own receiv'd him not*; he was accus'd before *Pilate*, as one pretending to be a King, and he, to the great Dissatisfaction of his Accusers, put that Title over his Head upon the Cross, *Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews.* That then was his true Title, that his Right, but his Kingdom was *Spiritual*, not Temporal; he demanded the Renditions of Mens Souls to him, not of their Bodies; the *Romans* might govern them still, by their Imperial Laws; Christ came not to exempt them from Obedience to *Cæsar*; he desir'd to rule in their Hearts, not over their numerous Cities, or larger Prefectures or Provinces. As to the Persons of the *Jews*, it's plain they were Rebels against him; they were, by the Gift of his Father, the first, and more peculiar Lot of his Inheritance; yet, when he came to them, they hated him; *they would not have this Man to reign over them*; they John 1. 11.

perſecuted him, and, by *Roman* Hands, ſcandalouſly murder'd him: Had his Dominion over them, been Temporal, ſuch was his Power, that he could have inſpir'd the poor dejected *Twelve*, who follow'd him trembling, with Courage and Force enough to have cut thouſands of his Enemies to pieces; his Servants would then have fought for him, that he ſhould not have been deliver'd to his Rebels; but they not uſing, and he not permitting, any ſuch forcible Defence of himſelf, the Truth of his Anſwer to *Pilate* was indiſputable, *and his Kingdom was not of this World.*

But earthly Subjects owe ſuch Defence to their earthly Sovereigns; and this appears, as I obſerv'd before, from the very *Nature of Government*; it's the ſame, as to the Reaſon of the Thing, be the Kind of Government what it will; but we are at preſent only concern'd with that of *Kings*, the Species referr'd to in the Text. Now, the *Buſineſs of a King*, according to what the *Iſraelites* pretended in their Reſolution upon the Remonſtrances of *Samuel*, was, They would have a King, that *they alſo might be like all the Nations, and that their King might judge them, and go out before them, and fight their Battels.* Where, by the Way, we may obſerve, that *all the Nations, at that Time, had Kings over them*, for the ſame Ends and Purpoſes for which *Iſrael* deſir'd one; and no Hiſtory gives us any Account of any other Government in thoſe Days, but that of Kings; nor of Men living in what ſome *Hobbiſts* call *a State of Nature*, a Figment ſo well baffled by his Grace the *late Arch-biſhop of Canterbury*, and the ingenious Dr. *Eachard*, in which every Man was at his Liberty, and liv'd as ſavage Beaſts do in the midſt of Woods and Foreſts, and among the Crags of Rocks and Mountains. Now, where the *Iſraelites* ſay, they would have *a King to judge them*, they mean, they would have a King to do Juſtice among them, to put the Laws of God in due Execution, and to provide particularly for particular Emergencies, where the Laws of God were ſilent; as he was to be their Judge, ſo he was to act as he thought fit in *his own Perſon*, and to call what Cauſes he pleas'd before himſelf; and to appoint others, of Courage and Underſtanding, to receive the Complaints of his People, to relieve the Oppreſſed, to ſupport and the defend Fatherleſs and Widows, to keep Men in Peace and Quietneſs; to take up, impriſon, or condemn to Death, all kinds of *Malefactors*; and to avenge the Cauſe of God and the King, againſt all ſuch as were diſobedient. Now, all this Care for the Welfare of his *People*, muſt deſerve the Return of abundance of Tenderneſs for the Safety of the *Prince's Perſon.* But ſuch Care of the Prince would certainly promote the Happineſs of the Subjects, in the free Enjoyment of themſelves, in their proper Stations and Employments.

But the *King* whom theſe *Iſraelites* deſir'd, was to be *like the Kings of other Nations, to go out before them.* Was this only that the Multitude might appear the more conſiderable, when a Perſon array'd in Purple, of a majeſtick Mien and Aſpect, and who ſeem'd to carry

carry something Great in all his Motions, walk'd before them? No, those elder Ages were not so fond of Shadows. They took Notice, indeed, sometimes of a *Countenance worthy of an Empire.* Such was that of *Saul, the first Monarch of Israel*, whose noble Appearance could not but reconcile many to him, after God had call'd him to that Honour; he was really a *goodly Person*, and might command a profound Respect from all who saw him. Such a one was *Jesse's eldest Son*, whose very Look spoke so powerfully for him, that when *Samuel* view'd him, he concluded that *certainly the Anointed of the Lord was then before him.* But the Prince who was desir'd to go out before *Israel*, was such a one as might be their *Guide and Conductor* on all Occasions; such a one as might watch for them, forewarn them of all threat'ning Evils, face every Danger in the Head of them, and put them into such Order, that they might, with a reasonable Probability of Safety, resist any violent Aggressor; he was to consult for them, and to turn their *Thoughts* and their *Arms* this Way or that Way, according as he saw Mischief approaching from any Quarter, and under the Prospect of several growing Dangers, to judge for them, which was *first* to be oppos'd, and which with the *greatest* Force and Application.

But as their Prince was to go out before them, as their Leader, so he was *to fight their Battels.* Not that the King *alone, and by himself*, was to fight whole Armies of Enemies, tho' sometimes *particular Persons* appear'd as *Champions*, to fight in behalf of all the rest; as *Goliah* was the *Champion of the Philistines*, and in their Name *defy'd all the Armies of Israel*; and *David* providentially became the *Champion of Israel*, accepting *Goliah's Challenge*, and, by killing him, brought assur'd Victory to the Side of *Israel*: Such were *Paris* and *Menelaus*, *Hector* and *Ajax*, among the *Greeks* and *Trojans*, and *Turnus* and *Æneas* between the *Trojans* and the *Latines*: But the Business of Kings, in Time of War, was, to levy Forces, to call their Subjects together to the Field, to have them train'd and exercis'd for Fight, to lead them against the Enemy, whether to break into his Country, or to prevent or repulse the Enemy breaking into his own. Kings were to chuse the Ground and Time for fighting, to give the Army proper Officers, and to commission them to manage such or such Bodies or Detachments, with a full Power to exercise Martial Discipline upon *Cowards, Traytors, or Deserters.* They us'd often to survey the Field, that they might be able to send Succours, if the Ground would allow it, to every declining Quarter; and, upon Occasion, the Onset being order'd by them, to expose their own Lives to the utmost, and to lose them freely in Defence of their Subjects. In short, he whom *Israel* desir'd, was to be a *King* to command with an indisputable Authority, a *General*, to conduct, to model, and to marshal an Army with Art and Judgment, and to be a *private Soldier*, to draw his own Sword, and to fight either in the Head, or any other convenient Part of the Army.

Such

Such was *Joshua*, marching in the Head of *Israel*, when warring against the *Canaanites*; *Saul* in the Head of his Troops against the *Philistines*; *David* against the same; *Jehoshaphat* against the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, and *Moabites*; *Josias* against the *King of Egypt*. Such was *Alexander* the Great, *Julius Cæsar*, and several other Emperors of *Rome*; *Tamerlane* the *Tartar*, and his mighty Adversary *Bajazet* the *Turk*; *Gustavus Adolphus* of *Sweden*, *and the present valiant King of that incomparably loyal People.* Such were our own *Richards*, *Edwards*, *Henrys*, the Honours of the Royal Character, and the Glories of their Times. These Things were what all Nations, in former Ages, expected from their Kings.

But now, can we imagine that any *one King* alone, and by himself, could make all his Subjects submit to Law and Justice? Could he alone rescue the Prey out of the Jaws of covetous and rapacious Beats, and Wolves, and Tygers? Could he alone make every one yield to the most reasonable Decisions in the World? Could he alone subdue Rebels, repulse Invaders, raise and command mighty Armies, without inferior Officers? Or resist Invaders, or dethrone Usurpers, without the Assistance of any Soldiers or Subalterns? No Man can believe these Things, or be so silly as to expect them. Their own domestick Servants and Relations, were the first commanded Bodies and Guards of Princes, as in the Case of *Abraham*, when he went against *Chederlaomer* and his Confederates: The *Children* of Great Men were such, where they were numerous, their own Safety being wrapp'd up in that of their *Fathers*; several of their People us'd to offer themselves as *Guards*, and Princes oft chose *Guards* for themselves, from among the People, to attend upon them and their Sons, as *Saul* did, and *Samuel* had told the *Israelites*, their Kings *would and must do.* These were ready to go whither, and upon what Message soever they were sent: They were to put the King's Commands in Execution, as we see *David's* Servants did in the Case of the *Amalekite*, who pretended to have kill'd *Saul*; and *Solomon's* did in the Cases of *Joab*, *Shimei*, and *Adonijah.* These render'd the Throne august and awful, struck a Terror upon Criminals, and were ready to prevent any Violence which a *Rebel* or *Traytor* might offer to the King's Person at unawares, and gave them Opportunity, in a Time of Danger, to save themselves. These were a proper Foundation of an Army; and being generally well treated by their Sovereigns, were always ready to spend their Lives in their Defence and Service. These went in and out with their Kings, and were Guards to *inferior Magistrates*, *and Ministers of Justice*, that they might execute their Offices safely; and these, among others, us'd to wait upon their Masters to the Field, to defend them against *Traytors* and *Rebels* at *Home*, and against *Encroachers*, *Invaders*, *and Usurpers*, upon his own or his Subjects Rights and Liberties from abroad.

Those must be very bad Princes indeed, or must reign but a very short Time, from whose Management the Publick reaps no manner

manner of Good at all; but if any in their publick Capacities reap any Benefit from the Government, they'll presently conclude, that a great deal of their own Happiness depends upon the Safety and Felicity of such a Prince. One who is Heir to a fair Estate, may squander it away very foolishly, yet many good Men may get considerably by his Profuseness; and it is not concluded presently, that such a Spend-thrift ought to be immediately stripp'd of all he has, unless some other Person can be produc'd, who has a better Right to it than he. But no Prince, in these Days, can spend his *Kingdom* as a Prodigal spends his Estate; he may waste the Revenues of it lavishly enough, but, by himself, he can't mortgage nor sell it: He may keep himself always poor, while he's in full Possession of the Power and Dignity, and the Revenue belonging to it; but he can never want what's necessary, or what may support his Honour in a commendable Way; and both *the Prince and the Country* may subsist without Excesses. But in the Midst of the wildest Extravagancies, the Money may only circulate the quicker among the Subjects; and while they enjoy Peace at Home, and with their Neighbours, and the Prince's Profuseness promotes Trade and Commerce, whosoever shall go about to insult him from Abroad, or give him Disturbance, or rebel against him at Home, every Subject ought to be ready to assist him, every Soldier ought to be ready to fight for him, and defend him.

Nebuchadnezzar, King of *Babylon*, was a mighty Warrior, an ambitious, cruel, and tyrannical Conqueror; he was one of those uncontrollable Monarchs, whose Will was the Law of his Subjects, and who never shew'd himself much inclin'd to forgive any who offended him: He had dealt more severely with the *Jews*, than any, burning their capital City, and with it *the glorious Temple of the most high God*: He had desolated and depopulated their whole Country, had carry'd all such Persons and Families into a lamentable Captivity, who were any Way considerable, so that a greater Enemy they could not have; yet, while they were in that captive State, God does not, by his Prophet, bid them stand up against their Conqueror, endeavour to embroil his Government, or to shake off his Fetters; no, but *build ye Houses*, says he, *and dwell in them, and plant Gardens, and eat the Fruit of them*; *take ye Wives, and beget Sons and Daughters, and take Wives for your Sons, and give your Daughters unto Husbands, that they may have Sons and Daughters, that ye may be increas'd there, and not diminish'd.* By these Ways the *Jews* were to contribute to the Wealth, the Strength, and the Authority of the King of *Babylon*, as much as they could desire to increase their own Numbers; and they were not to do this only, but *seek ye the Peace of that City*, says God, *whither I have caus'd you to be carry'd away captive, and pray unto the Lord for it, for in the Peace thereof ye shall have Peace.* Jerem. 29. 7. After all which, if their Conqueror call'd out any of the *Jews* to attend him in the Field, they'd certainly stand by him among the most faithful of

of his Subjects, as we see *Daniel* and his *three Friends*, Persons of the highest Rank among the Captives, serv'd him faithfully and wisely, above all others, in the Stations he had plac'd them in.

But if the *Jews*, who had been all along treated as Enemies and Slaves, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and who were now Captives, were oblig'd to be so faithful to the Interests of their Conqueror and Oppressor, how much more are they oblig'd to it, who *naturally*, or *voluntarily*, live under the Government of a *lawful Prince*; a Prince who, if he be not the best of all others, is yet guilty of as few Errors in the Management of his People, as others are in the Conduct of their private Families? Every Man ought to hold the Life and Ease of his Prince, as dear as the Life of his own Father, or of the best and most powerful Friend he has in the World, since his Prince is the best Friend of the whole Nation, and the Father of his Country. *Saul* was none of the best Kings, yet *David*, in his Lamentation over him, charges

2 Sam. 1. 24. *the Daughter of Israel, to weep over Saul, who clothed them in Scarlet, with other Delights, and who put Ornaments of Gold upon their Apparel.* And, after the Downfal of *Absalom*, when all the Tribes of *Israel* were at Strife to bring *David* home, they, in grateful Terms, commemorate the great Things *David* had done for them, tho' they had, in their Fondness of Change and Novelty, forgotten them strangely before.

The King, say they, *sav'd us out of the Hand of our*

2 Sam. 19. 9. *Enemies, and he deliver'd us from the* Philistines, *and now he is fled out of the Land, for* Absolom, *and* Absolom, *whom we anointed over us, is dead in Battel: Now therefore, why speak ye not a Word of bringing the King Home?* And so we see, that tho' the Weakness of *Rehoboam*, in following the Counsel of young Men, rather than that of those of more Wisdom and Experience, frighted *ten Tribes* into Rebellion against *God* and their *King*; yet *Rehoboam* had the populous Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* ready to assert his Cause, and to fight for him, had not God himself countermanded their forward Loyalty; and tho' *Jeroboam*, under Pretence of maintaining *Liberty and Property*, had betray'd the revolting Tribes into nothing but *Apostacy and Idolatry*, and had made them *Enemies to their God and their King* at the same Time, yet the Love of that *mere Shadow* they had grasp'd at, made them throw away 500000 Lives in one Battel, to support their Idol. So *Athaliah* too had her Creatures ready to defend her, tho' there was nothing but the bare *Appearance* of Government to recommend her to the People. And tho' *Zedekiah* was one of those who never troubled himself about pleasing God, and was wonderfully mistaken in his Measures, if he really sought the Welfare of his Country; yet considerable Numbers were ready to die with him, before they would give him up into the Hands of conquering *Nebuchadnezzar*. Lawful Princes always find some Friends and Servants,

who

who will fight for them, and look upon Death it self as highly meritorious in their Quarrel.

All Mankind agree together in this Principle, and set the highest Value Words can express upon the Person and Life of their *rightful Sovereign*. If *God*, by himself, has immediately set him over them, as in the Case of *Saul*, none but the *Sons of Belial* can reject him whom God has chosen. If *Men* have pitch'd upon such or such a Man to be their King, they directly condemn themselves, and their own Follies, if they quickly grow weary of their own Choice. If their King, *in Person*, fights their Battels, they can scarce desire more; (for such an Action shews, that he values their Welfare and Interests more than his own Life.) People are very apt to undervalue such as are afraid, or unwilling to adventure their Persons at the Head of their Troops; if they find them forward to do it, they are the more tender of their Persons, and are the more careful for their Safety, who take no Care of themselves. Never was any Man more daring, in the publick Cause, than *David*, when either a *private Person*, a *subordinate Officer*, or a *King*; God had *taught his Hands to War, and his Fingers to Fight*, and he again had brought up a great Number of excellent Commanders in War, and Counsellors in Peace; but *David* was no more Immortal, or Invulnerable, than other Men. This the People, who had so often seen his heroick Valour, and reap'd the Fruits of it, consider'd, when he told them, that he would go out with them to the *Battel against Absalom*; they were aware that the Malice of an unnatural Rebel might go very far, and that it had been advis'd by *Achitophel*, that *David* alone should be pursu'd, surpriz'd, and kill'd; that therefore it might reasonably be fear'd, that the *Rebels* would levelall their Spite against the *Person of the King*; the People therefore, with one Consent, answer his Offer, *Thou shalt not go forth, for if we flee away, they will not care for us; neither if all of us should die, will they care for us; but thou art worth ten thousand of us; therefore now it is better for thee to succour us out of the City.* 2 Sam. 18. 2, 3. And after this, when in a Battel against the *Philistines*, *David* wax'd faint, and *Ishbi Beneb*, a gigantick Man of the *Philistines*, being girt with a new Sword, thought, at that Advantage to have kill'd him, *Abishai, the Son of Zerviah, succour'd his Master, and kill'd the Philistine*; and *all David's Servants* kindly, though boldly, concurr'd in that Resolution, *Thou shalt no more go forth with us to to Battel, that thou quench not the Light of Israel.* 2 Sam. 21. 17. Here Valour, well known, was justly excus'd, and every good Servant of the *King of Israel*, was ready to sacrifice his own Life, to preserve that of his Sovereign. The King, indeed, is the Light of his People, when he falls, the People, like poor blind Creatures, go on poring in the Dark, and it's generally a long Time before they come to a regular Settlement; where *the King is not elective*, the natural Heir reigns, immediately upon the De-

miſe of his Predeceſſor, without any Scruple, Difficulty, or Diſſatisfaction.

What Value *other Nations*, who had leſs Light than the *Tribes of Iſrael*, to direct them in their Duty to God, or Man, had for the Perſon of their Kings, is apparent by thoſe Deſcriptions of a King, which they give us, *viz.* that *he is a King who can do what he pleaſes, without Controul*; that *he's above every Body, but no Body above him*; that *he's the Author of Laws, but himſelf above the coercive Power of any Laws, but thoſe of God and Reaſon*; that *every Subject is accountable to him, but he accountable to none*; that *the King is God's Image, Vice-Gerent, and Repreſentative*; to which Chriſtians add, that *he is the higheſt Power, whom none of his Subjects can forcibly reſiſt, without incurring Damnation*; that *he's one of thoſe Majeſtick Creatures, againſt whom there's no riſing up*, &c. And, though in all Nations, under Heaven, there have, at one Time or other, been *Plots, Treaſons, Inſurrections, and Rebellions*, againſt their Princes, yet, upon the Reſettlement of publick Affairs, the Authors of ſuch Crimes have been look'd on, and treated, as *Traytors and Rebels* ought to be, unleſs the extraordinary *Clemency of the lawful Prince*, has paſs'd ſome Act of Grace for their Indemnity. And though God in his Diſpleaſure with a ſinful Nation, may ſuffer wicked Men, and ſuch as are of unquiet and factious Minds, to prevail for a while, as in the cruel Uſurpation of *Athaliah*; yet he generally brings Matters about again, and then, as *Jotham, the lawful Son of Gideon, wiſh'd to Abimelech, his baſtard Brother, and the Men of Shechem*, who ſet up *Abimelech* for their King, *God may let Fire come out from Abimelech, and devour the Men of Shechem, and the Houſe of Millo*; *and Fire come out from Shechem, and the Houſe of Millo, and devour Abimelech*; for nothing's more uſual than for wiſe Princes to hate the Traytor, though they may like the Effects of the Treaſon well enough.

Judges 9. 20.

Several Soldiers in a Battel have ſhewn the Reſpect they had to their Prince's Safety, by caſting themſelves in a Ring about him, and ſuffering themſelves to be cut to Pieces, only to ſave him; as a Body of *Janiſaries* did about *Bajazet* the *Turk*, when he had, in a manner, loſt the Field to the victorious *Tamerlane*. Sometimes particular Perſons have thrown themſelves between their Prince and a violent Blow aim'd at him, and have fall'n upon the Bed of Honour in his Defence. Again, ſometimes the Danger of the *Prince's Perſon*, in a Battel, has ſo rous'd the Courage of his Soldiers, as, by reſcuing him, at the ſame Time they have ſnatch'd Victory from the before-prevailing Adverſary; ſo the politick Report of *Guſtavus* being taken Priſoner, by the *Germans*, when he was really kill'd, at the Battel of *Lutren*, fir'd the *Swedes* with ſo much Fury, that, to reſcue him, they bravely drove the *German* Army out of the Field. This perſonal Eſteem for their Princes has made ſuch extraordinary Rejoycings, both among

among the *Military Men* and the *Commonalty*, when they have seen them return in Safety Home, from the infinite Hazards of a bloody War; hence so many Prayers put up, both by *Heathens* and *Christians*, for the Security of the Persons of their warlike Monarchs; hence those numerous *deprecatory Acclamations* of the *Roman Senate and Armies*, for their Emperors, of which *Vopiscus* gives us a remarkable Instance, upon the Choice of *Probus*, and *Lampridius* another, of their Acclamations to *Macrinus*, upon his presenting his young Son *Diadumenus* to them, under the belov'd Name of *Antoninus*. But thus it always will, and ought to be; *earthly Monarchs* will have their *earthly Servants* always ready, according to Duty, to fight for them, that they may not be deliver'd into the Hands of their Enemies; all such Servants as fail in this Duty, merit not the Characters of Honour, nor Title of Faithful, nor the Name of Christians. What then will belong to the Authors and Contrivers of that execrable Murder, committed this fatal Day upon the sacred *Person of* Charles *the First*, of blessed Memory, the best of Men, and the best of Princes, who ever wore the *British Crown*; the horrid Guilt of such Persons, no Thoughts can conceive, no Words express. That we may view this hellish Crime in its proper Colours, since it's impossible to remove it out of Sight, while *Treason*, *Rebellion*, *and Murder*, are Sins; and *Christianity*, as reform'd from the Errors of *Rome*, is *the Religion publickly profess'd in these Kingdoms*, we must make these several Inquiries,

1. Whether *Charles the First*, of pious Memory, was not the *lawful King*, *Monarch*, *Sovereign*, *and Emperor of these Nations*, according to our *true*, *ancient*, *and fundamental Laws?* By these several Titles of *King*, *Monarch*, *Sovereign*, *and Emperor*, the *Laws* and *Statutes* of this Kingdom know their lawful supream Governor. Now, they were none but *Papists*, who, upon the Demise of that glorious Queen *Elizabeth*, ever pretended to question the Right of *James the First*, the only Son of *Mary Queen of* Scotland, *and* Dowager *of* France, *sole Daughter*, *and undoubted Heir of* Margaret, *eldest Daughter of our* Henry *the Seventh*; who, by marrying *Elizabeth*, *Heiress of the House of* York, put an End to the long and bloody Contest between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, and, consequently, upon the Failure of the Heirs of *Henry the Eight*, was *nearest related to the Crown of* England; which Right and Relation, upon her Death, descended to her only Son and Heir *James the First*. Whatever Objections some *Popish Factors* laid against him, and which some of the *Scum of the rational World* have, with unparallell'd Impudence, reviv'd in these Days, yet we have no Exception to the Justice of the first Parliament, call'd in the Reign of that King, in their *most joyful and loyal Recognition of the immediate lawful and undoubted Succession*, *Descent*, *and Right of the Crown upon him*; where, after several humble and respectful Expressions of their Loyalty, they add, 'We do beseech your most ex-

'cellent Majeſty, that as a Memorial to all Poſterities, among 'the Records of your High Court of Parliament, for ever to 'endure, of our Loyalty and Obedience, and humble and hearty Affection; it may be publiſh'd and declar'd in this High 'Court of Parliament, and enacted by the Authority of the 'ſame, that we, being bounden thereto, both by the Laws of 'God and Man, do recognize and acknowledge, and hereby expreſs our unſpeakable Joys, that immediately upon the Diſſolution and Deceaſe of *Elizabeth, late Queen of* England, the 'Imperial Crown of the Realm of *England*, and of all the 'Kingdoms, Dominions, and Rights belonging to the ſame, 'did, by inherent Birth-Right, and lawful and undoubted Succeſſion, deſcend and come to your moſt excellent Majeſty, as 'being lineally, juſtly, and lawfully, next, and ſole Heir, of the 'Blood Royal of this Realm, as is aboveſaid; and that, by the 'Goodneſs of God Almighty, and lawful Right of Deſcent, 'under one Imperial Crown, your Majeſty is, of the Realms 'and Kingdoms of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, the moſt potent and mighty King; and to your Protection we moſt humbly and faithfully do ſubmit and oblige our ſelves, our 'Heirs and Poſterities for ever, even until the very laſt Drop 'of our Blood be ſpent, *&c.* This may ſerve to clear the Right of *James the Firſt* to the Crown of theſe Kingdoms; and whether *Charles the Firſt*, of pious Memory, were not the Son and Heir of *James the Firſt*, *and* Anne *of* Denmark, I don't remember that ever any Body call'd in Queſtion.

2. *Charles the Firſt being his Father's true and only Heir to all his Kingdoms*, according to the Import of the fore-cited *Recognition*; our next Enquiry will be, *Whether every Perſon, of what Sex or Age ſoever, born within his Realms and Dominions, were not his Subjects naturally, and by Birth*; and, conſequently, whether by *oppoſing*, *reſiſting*, *and rebelling* againſt him, which the Law allows in no Caſe whatſoever, *they did not immediately become Traytors and Rebels?* As *Birth* gives me, or any other Perſon, a Right to my, or his Father's Inheritance, or any Part of it; ſo it gives me a Right to the Protection of the ſame Government, by the Laws of which, as well as by the Laws of *Nature and Nations*, I enjoy ſuch a Right; but no Man can pretend to the Protection of the Government, but ſuch as own their Subjection to the *lawful King*, or ſupream Governor, under whom he lives. Hence it was, that in the Time of *Popery*, when the *Clergy* of this Nation pretended to an Exemption from the coercive Power of the *Temporal Laws* of this Kingdom, as immediately depending only on the Court of *Rome*, when the King could manage them by no other Means, he put them *out of the Protection of his Laws*, ſince they would not obey them, and by that Means let looſe the *whole Body of the Laity upon them:* And this really was but Juſtice; and every one who engages in Inſurrections and Rebellions againſt his lawful

ful Prince, puts himself out of his Prince's Protection, and is properly an *Outlaw*, tho' he be not su'd to an *Outlawry*. Our Parliaments of old consisted only of the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, and such as held Lands of the King by *Knights Service*, who might perhaps not be thought so equal a *Representative of the Commonalty*, as they would have wish'd for; tho' all the Lands of the Kingdom were then, and still are, held of the King, as Lord in Chief, by one Tenure or another; and every one who had Tenants under himself, as he was under the King, those Tenants might reasonably suppose, that their Lords would take Care of their Good, their own being so very much concern'd in it. But *Burgesses for Boroughs and Corporations*, and *Knights for Shires*, who were *purely Commoners* themselves, were, by the Policy of our Kings, admitted into the *Great Council of the Nation*; and it was put into the Power of the *substantial Freeholders* (for such were the *forty Shillings Men* in those Days) to give their Votes freely for such as they thought fit to represent themselves in that Great Assembly; then all those *Recognitions* and *Acknowledgments* of *Subjection*, *Homage*, *Allegiance*, *Fealty*, &c. which were made by the *Commons Representatives*, were justly look'd upon and taken as the *Acts* and *Deeds* of the whole Commons of these Realms. Hence the Laws consented to, or petition'd for by their Representatives, tho' the King's Will alone makes them *Laws*, and those *his own Laws* too, are yet said to be *such Laws as the Commons of the Nation have chosen or desir'd*.

In these Laws the *Lords* and *Commons* always acknowledge themselves the King's *loyal*, *faithful*, *humble*, *and obedient Subjects*; and that the lawful Possessor of the Throne, is their sole, true, and rightful Sovereign; which Acknowledgments, if they be true, then, as the Prince owes all them *his Protection* who acknowledge his Right, so far as he can give it them, so they again owe him *their Obedience and Assistance*, to make good his own Obligations: They are in the Eyes of the Law so *truly* the Subjects of the *rightful King*, that they are no sooner born into the World, than they are under the same Obligations their Fathers were before; and so as they grow up to Years of Discretion, they are liable to the Lashes of the King's Laws, and are bound to perform all the Duties of faithful Subjects, and to obey their Sovereign, even where the Authority of their *natural Fathers* ceases, or where it interferes with that of the *lawful Prince*. Being under such *natural Obligations*, their occasional Removal into *foreign Countries* will not excuse them for any Fault they have there committed against their natural Lord; they can't so far *transfer their Allegiance* from their *own* to a *Foreigner*, by any Contract whatever, but that if any Action of theirs in another Country comes up to the Nature of *Treason* against their *own Sovereign*, in whose Service soever they are, the Law against Traytors will pass upon them, when taken, as was determin'd by the *Judges* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time in the Case of Dr. *Story*. If

then

then taking Arms againſt a rightful Sovereign, makes him who lives under ſuch a Sovereign's Protection, a Rebel and a Traytor, we know of nothing that can change the Nature of ſuch a Crime. *Counſels, Deſigns, Plots againſt a lawful Government, are treaſonable*; but thoſe who make Uſe of *Force* and *Arms* againſt it, thoſe who excite *Strangers* to Arms, or to invade, or any Way endeavour the Hurt or Ruin of their *natural Sovereign or Country*, are, in the Eye of our Law, *Traytors* and *Rebels*. But,

3. It's next worth our while to enquire whether *all the Subjects of* Charles *the Firſt, whether Lords Spiritual or Temporal, or the Commons*, as the three Eſtates of this Realm *in Parliament aſſembled*, and all *Officers*, whether *Spiritual, Civil*, or *Military*, had taken the *Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy to him, and to his lawful Heirs and Succeſſors, excluſively of all other Perſons whoſoever?* This *Oath*, in an Age when Oaths were more conſider'd, both by the *Takers* and *Impoſers* of them, than they are at preſent, was a Teſt, not of a *Papiſt's Religion*, but of *his Loyalty*. In the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, that *Papiſt* who would declare, that *in Caſe of an Invaſion of this Nation by the Biſhop of* Rome, *or his Procurement, he'd ſtand by the Queen, tho' excommunicated by the Pope, againſt him and his Adherents*, was frequently admitted to the *Council Table*, and always held his *Seat in Parliament*. The *Powder Treaſon* gave an Occaſion to that Alteration made in the Oath, in the Reign of *James the Firſt*; ſeveral *Papiſts*, who from their Hearts deteſted that deviliſh Contrivance, took the *Oath*, as *ſo* modell'd, and ſtill ſate in the *Houſe of Peers*; and we don't meet with any extraordinary Inconveniences ariſing from that Allowance. But no Man of Honour or Conſcience could take this Oath, but he look'd upon it as ſuch a Tie upon his Conſcience, that he could never indulge himſelf in a Liberty to break it. This Oath requir'd nothing of them but what they underſtood, but what was *agreeable to Scripture, Antiquity, and Reaſon*, to what the very *Heathen* look'd upon as a *real Truth*, and ſuch a one as was indiſpenſibly neceſſary to the Security of any Government whatſoever; the contrary Notion really dethroning Kings, and making them as much Subjects to a foreign Power, and as obnoxious to the capricious Humours of their own Subjects as the moſt abject of their own Vaſſals could really be to them.

Now the Import of that Oath to be taken by every Member of Parliament, before they could act there, was this: — *I* A. B. *do utterly teſtify and declare in my Conſcience, that the King's or Queen's Highneſs is the only ſupream Governor of this Realm, and of all other his or her Highneſſes Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical Things, or Cauſes, as Temporal; and that no foreign Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath or ought to have any Juriſdiction, Power, Superiority, Preeminence, or Authority, Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, within this Realm: And therefore I do utterly renounce and forſake all foreign Juriſdictions,*

dictions, Powers, Superiorities, and Authorities, and do promise, that from henceforth I shall bear Faith and true Allegiance to the King's Highness, his Heirs and Successors, and to my Power shall assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Privileges, Preeminences, and Authorities, granted and belonging to the King's Highness, his Heirs and Successors, or united and annex'd to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. So help me God, and the Contents of this Book.——Queen *Elisabeth* indeed had so good an Opinion of the Honour of the Peers, that she would not lay the Burden of a *formal Oath* upon them. The *Homage* perform'd by them at the Time of their being call'd up to the House of Lords, and that perform'd to every *new Prince at his Coronation*, and the near Dependance of Men of Honour upon the *King*, who is the *Fountain of Honour*, might seem, with Respect to them, to supersede the Ceremony; but if it were so still, the Obligation of the *Peers to be faithful to the Throne*, is every whit as strong, as if they were oblig'd by a thousand Oaths.

It has been the Practice of *all Governments* too, when they have rais'd any Person to an *Office in Church or State*, or in their *Armies*, to require of them an *Oath of Fidelity*: For it's no superfluous Care, to endeavour to join *Honour* and *Conscience* together, to oblige Men in Trust to be faithful to their Masters. Only Bishops and Presbyters, *in the primitive Times*, were suppos'd so unlikely to be false to their Sovereigns, by Reason of the known Obligations of their holy Profession, that we don't find any Oaths, of that Nature, ever put upon them. For in those Days, it was never heard of, that a *Christian Bishop* should preach up the Doctrine of *Resistance against their lawful Governours*, or that it was meritorious to oppose them by Force; a *Gnostic*, or a *Circumcellion*, might adventure upon such Doctrines, or might appear among a *Party* of *Rebels*, or encourage a *foreign Invader*, to the Ruin of his native Country; but *Christian Bishops*, or *Presbyters*, had not then *so learn'd Christ*. As they were the Substitutes of him who was the *Prince of Peace*, so it was their Business to *promote Peace*, and to bring even *Infidels* into Love with that *Quietness and Serenity which Christ's Religion introduc'd*. Tho' barbarously and unjustly persecuted, they never encourag'd their People so much as to stand up in *their own* Defence; tho' I am ready to believe *Tertullian*, telling us, that *the bare Retiring of the Christians out of the* Roman *Dominions, was enough to depopulate the Empire*, than either profess'd *Papists*, or *Papists in Masquerade*, who would perswade us, that *the Christians sate down quietly under persecuting Kings and Emperors, only because they wanted Strength and Numbers to oppose them.* Nay, *they* serv'd as Soldiers under those very *Emperors* who were continually persecuting their Brethren and themselves; as the *Thundering Legion* under *Marcus Antoninus*, the *Thebean* under *Maximinian*, the much greater Part of the Army under *Julian* the Apostate. Nor would the *orthodox Bishops* move any of their Friends to resist the Attempts of *Constantius* or *Valent*, tho' they were such notorious *Encouragers*

of

of Arrianism, and the barbarous Cruelties of those *inhumane Hereticks* upon the Professors of the *Nicene* Faith.

We cannot now but conclude, that *Honour* in the *Peerage*, with *Conscience*, and *Conscience in the Commons, with a Share of good Sense*, must have had some Influences on *all* in the Days of King *Charles the Martyr*; and that all those who belong'd to the *Civil List*, and all such as were in any Command in his *Armies*, were bound, as far as Men could be, to be true to their Sovereign, not to enter into any Plots or Conspiracies against him, or his Heirs, themselves, nor to conceal any mischievous Designs of others against him, or any of his Royal Offspring, which they might by any Means come to the Knowledge of. They could not pretend to any *Coordinacy* with him who was *their Sovereign*, while they were his *humble, his loyal, and his faithful Subjects*, while they were but the *Three Estates*, the *constituent Members* of the Parliamentary Body, of which He only was the *Head:* They own'd his *Supremacy in all Causes, and over all Persons* whatsoever: If he was the *Supream*, none could pretend to rival him, but the very Pretence must make them *Traytors*; if he was not the *Supream*, then they were guilty of the most *treacherous Flattery* in the World, when they, calling God himself to witness the Truth of what they declar'd, own'd him to be the only *supream Governor, under God, of these Realms*, not dependent upon any other Prince or State, not obnoxious to their Censures or Sentences of Condemnation, much less to his own *Subjects*, who, having sworn *unconditional Fidelity* to him, (for they had sworn to him, before the Coronation-Oath, or any other, had been taken by the Prince to the People) must of Necessity be guilty of *damnable Perjury*, if they took up Arms against him, in the Sight of that God whom they call'd to witness the *Honesty* and *Sincerity* of their present Intentions; for tho' some *modern Factionists* have us'd us to the Talk of the *Sovereignty of these Nations being in King, Lords, and Commons*, yet the *Standing Laws of these Kingdoms* speak no such Language; and nothing certainly can appear more absurd or ridiculous, than to see such as are *coordinate with the Monarch*, another pretty Absurdity too, to stile him their *Great, their Dread, their Mighty Sovereign*, only to delude the People with an Opinion, that he is really so, and *themselves* his *humble* and *loyal Subjects and Servants*; a Complement which I don't remember that ever any King of *England* paid to *the two Houses of Parliament*, or that he call'd them his *Sovereign*, or himself *their Subject*, or that any King ever *petition'd* any one of the *Three Estates*, or *all of them together*, which was formerly the Stile of all Parliamentary Acts, *viz.* That such a Bill, with his most gracious Majesty's Consent, might pass into a Law, which is the Stile of the *Act of Recognition* before mention'd, and of that for *keeping a solemn Fast on this Day*. But the Oath of *Allegiance and Supremacy* not only extends to the Person of the *rightful King in Possession*, but to his *lawful*

lawful Heirs and Succeſſors, excluſive of all others; and ſo any Oppoſition made to the *reigning* King, or to his *Queen*, or to his *eldeſt Son*, the Heir apparent of his Crown and Dignity, or any Thing done to the *Prejudice or Diſheriſon of the King, or his next Heir*, is *High Treaſon*, by the 25th of *Edw.* III, in which, at the Prayer of his People, and that they might be no more at Uncertainty in the Matter, the King himſelf *authoritatively determin'd what ſhould be Treaſon, and what proſecuted as Treaſon for the Time to come.* A Statute ſtill in full Force, but almoſt forgotten. But,

4. Since all Members of both Houſes of Parliament had taken that Oath to *Charles* the Iſt, of pious Memory, before ever they could act as belonging to any of the *Three Eſtates* in Parliament, in the Year 41, and yet *two* of thoſe very *three Eſtates*, notwithſtanding the ſacred Obligation of their Oaths, did take up Arms againſt him, whom they had before God acknowledg'd their rightful and lawful Sovereign, proſecuted him by an open, bloody, and unnatural War in the Field, and there try'd by any Means to deſtroy his ſacred Perſon, and at length, by Divine Permiſſion, and as a dreadful Puniſhment for our great and grievous Sins, got the better in the War, took his Royal Perſon Priſoner, drove his three Sons out of their Father's Kingdom, to which each of them in his Turn had an Hereditary Right, into a foreign Country to get their Bread, and ſave their Lives, and then, with an *execrable and helliſh Impudence*, murder'd him, in open Day, before the Gates of his own Palace; which accurſed Management laid the Foundation of all thoſe Calamities which theſe Nations ever ſince have felt, and ſtill do feel. Since the *Temporal Lords and Commons of that Parliamentary Aſſembly*, or rather the *malignant Majority* of them, have done all theſe Things, they either were deſperately *perjur'd* before *God* and *againſt their own Souls*, or elſe they muſt have found out ſome *Poyſon*, or ſome ſecret *Method*, by which they might be *releas'd from the Obligation of any ſuch ſolemn Oaths, tho' never ſo much in their own Power, never ſo juſt, cuſtomary, or lawful.* We grant, that when any Man, either for Fear or Intereſt, takes any Oath unlawful either in its *Matter* or in its *Manner*, *to keep or obſerve ſuch an Oath, would be worſe than the taking of it.* And the beſt Satisfaction he who has taken ſuch an Oath can make to God or his own Soul, is heartily to repent of his Sin, and carefully to renounce all manner of Obligation from it. Such was the Caſe of them who took that *infamous Covenant* in 1645. The Deſign of that *Covenant* was not to make good any of thoſe Ends pretended in it; but the Rebels, finding themſelves worſted every where by their excellent Prince, and conſcious of their own Demerits from the Hands of *their injur'd Sovereign*, reſolv'd to pawn their own Souls, and, if they could, the Souls of the whole Nation to the Devil, to bring in the *Scots* to their Aſſiſtance againſt him; which having effected, to the Ruin of the King's

Affairs, they quickly grew equally weary of *the* Scots *themſelves, and of their Covenant*, and afterwards under the Conduct of their Darling *Cromwel*, paid them heartily for the great Service they had done them in that monſtrous Rebellion.

But thoſe who drew in the *Scots* by this Artifice, had ſworn *Fidelity to the King*, and had acknowledg'd his Supremacy before. They had made Profeſſion of the utmoſt Loyalty, and that they had no Deſign but to make him the *richeſt, the greateſt, and the moſt glorious King*, that theſe Nations had ever enjoy'd; and when they had done all this, they then rebell'd againſt him, perſecuted him, murder'd him. The King, in his laſt Viſit to *Scotland*, had granted them ſo many Favours, that even they acknowledg'd that he had left them a contented People. They promis'd and engag'd, that they'd never again oppoſe ſo gracious a Maſter, upon any Account whatſoever; and the Earl of *Leven* in particular, had imprecated the heavieſt of God's Judgments upon himſelf, if he ever bore Arms againſt him more: But for all this, O the Loyalty and Veracity of tender Conſciences! the *Scots* ingratefully took up the Arms of Rebellion again, ruin'd their gracious King and Benefactor, and *Leven* himſelf lead them to the War. It's worth our Enquiry then, *Who they were that ſet theſe Men free from all their Oaths and Obligations.* Not an *Agent from Rome*, I hope. No ſure, *Popery*, or the Word *Popery*, with which they har'd the abus'd Multitude out of their Wits, and made them run head-long *upon God, even upon his Neck, and upon the thick Buſſes of his Bucklers.* Alas! they had no Need of *Nuncio's from Rome*; but they had a Crew of temporiſing Preachers; Men who brought down their Divinity to the Wickedneſs of the Times; who made it their Buſineſs to blow the Trumpet of Rebellion, and to halloo a *Pack* of *mad Dogs* upon their Sovereign; Men who call'd themſelves the *pureſt of Proteſtants*, who had taken all the *ſecuring Oaths* then requir'd by the Government; but yet they were Men, who caſting off all the *Admonitions of Honeſty and Conſcience, whether as Prieſts or Subjects*, broke their Oaths themſelves, and then diſcharg'd all the *fiery, malignant, revengeful Spirits*, in both Houſes of Parliament, *from their Oaths*, all the *Commonalty* of this Kingdom from the Doctrines of the *Reform'd Religion*, in which they had been brought up; and while they themſelves directed and perſwaded the commanding Rebels *to ſtrike the Baſilic Vein*, and told them, that *Peace between Heaven and Hell was as likely to be procur'd*, as between the *King and them*, they prevail'd with the unthinking Populace to receive all the Accuſations their Malice had laid againſt the King with an *implicit Faith*; they ſo brought them to flock to the Standard of Rebellion, 'till they had hunted the *Anointed of the Lord into their Nets, under whoſe Shadow all good Men hop'd they might have liv'd in Peace.* The *Scots* too had their *canting Preachers*, who could abſoil them of a thouſand Oaths for the Sake of their *abominable Covenant*; as if adding Sin to

Sin

Sin were the beſt Way of atoning Heaven for Sins already committed; and a *covenanting Hero* could defy all the imprecated Plagues of Heaven, rather than not appear, as they then uſually expreſs'd it, *in helping the Lord againſt the Mighty.* Their Teachers were then in the ſame Strain with the Whirlegigs of theſe Times, and durſt print too what they preach'd, when they adviſ'd thoſe who had no Swords to draw againſt their Sovereign, to ſell their Coats, and buy ſome. Such Men could abſolve the Infantry of *Eſſex*'s broken Army in the *Weſt* from that Engagement they had made, not to bear Arms againſt his Majeſty for a Year, after he had given them their Lives and Liberties, and could incite them to fight ſo much the more furiouſly in a wicked Cauſe, as they had been fortunate Partakers of their compaſſionate Sovereign's unmerited Mercy. Theſe were no *Roman*, but apoſtatiſing *Britiſh* Preachers, who having *no Fear of God before their Eyes, but being inſtigated by the Devil*, did what no *Roman* Prieſt had ever given them a Pattern of. *Rome* modeſtly reſerv'd the Power of diſpenſing with the Oaths of Subjects to their Princes, to the *Pope* only: Every one of theſe aſſum'd that Papal Power to himſelf; and without any viſible Remorſe, pawn'd their own Souls for the eternal Safety of thoſe, whom they ſent as faſt as they could head-long to the Devil. Woe be to thoſe unhappy Wretches, who give up their Souls to the Conduct of ſuch impious Miſcreants! Woe to the World, becauſe of Offences; but much more Woe to them, by whom ſuch Offences come!

It has been a common Notion among Caſuiſts, *That no Man can be releas'd from an Oath made to another and his Heirs, the Matter of which is lawful, and impos'd by lawful Authority, unleſs he be either under an abſolute Impoſſibility of keeping it, or have a full and free Diſcharge from the Perſons concern'd.* It's true, the Death of all the Parties concern'd, puts an End to the Obligation without any more ado: While the Parties live, they may hold the Perſon who has ſworn to the Performance of his Promiſe, and he cannot go off from the Obligation of it, without ſcandalous Perjury. There may be a great many pretty Tricks put in Practice, to evade the Obligation of an Oath; but *God will not hold him guiltleſs that taketh his Name in vain.* That Oath which was taken by the *Members of Parliament to* Charles the Firſt *of bleſſed Memory*, they never were releas'd from by him: And if it were poſſible for any Number of Men whoſoever, to make a true *Britiſh* Parliament, without a King to call them, or without the People to chuſe them, they could not remit the Obligation of any ſuch Oath; nor can a thouſand Parliaments, how regularly ſoever conſtituted, either bribe, cajole, or threaten Almighty God ſo far, as that he ſhould not call all thoſe to a dreadful Account, who break their lawful Oaths in any Particular. If you in a juſt Cauſe have paſs'd a ſolemn promiſſory Oath to me, and to my Son, in ſuch or ſuch a Caſe,

I may discharge you of the Obligation to my self, but I can't discharge you of that to my Son, and he may acquit you of your Engagement to himself, but not of that to me. But if I can discharge my self of such an Obligation, upon Pretence of any imaginary Necessity, there's an End of all Confidence between Man and Man, between Debtor and Creditor, between Princes and their Subjects, nay and between God and Man. I can with an ill Grace accuse my Prince with the Breach of of his Coronation-Oath, when I my self am every Day breaking the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy; and as for the *Original Contract*, tho' the Supposition of it would do no Service here, it's as putrid a Popish Fable, as either that of Purgatory or Transubstantiation. I can allow that the Government, upon a just Occasion, may change the Form of these Oaths requir'd for its own Security; but though that Alteration may be of Force for the future, it can't change the Nature of Oaths already taken: But if, as the *Rebels pleaded in the great Rebellion*, and a great *Number argue now-a days*, though we take never so many Oaths to any King, *rightful or an Usurper*, *good or bad*, we owe him Allegiance, as I observ'd before, no longer than he is able to protect us. As it's a fair Warning to a wise Prince not to put too much Confidence in the solemn Engagements, much less in the flattering Addresses of their Subjects; since if this Resolution be good, our Saviour's Argument would be very much weaken'd; for he may have had an earthly Kingdom, and yet his Subjects, if the *Jews* appear'd too strong for him, might have lawfully enough refus'd to fight, to hinder his being deliver'd up to them. But our Master's Argument was certainly sound and good; therefore *Charles the Martyr* being the undoubted lawful Monarch of these Kingdoms, and all Persons born or naturaliz'd here, being his natural Subjects; and all Persons concern'd in Parliament, and all Officers Spiritual, Civil, or Military, having, in the Names of themselves, and the whole Body of the People of these Realms, taken the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy to him, and to his lawful Heirs and Successors, from which they never discharg'd them; and neither themselves, nor any other Authority, Spiritual or Temporal whatsoever, could release them, they ought to have fought for him against every Enemy; but they forgetting their Duty, and fighting against him, the

Enquiry of Course must be, *Whether all those who were his natural Subjects, or who had sworn to him, and to his Heirs, all Obedience and Fidelity, when they took up Arms against him, seiz'd the Power over the Militia, seiz'd his Lands, Revenues, Palaces, Forts, Castles, Ships, Arms, and Ammunition, and turn'd them all against him, hunted him as a Partridge in the Mountains, took him Prisoner, murder'd him, were not, in every single Action of this Nature, perjur'd Rebels and Traytors?* Now certainly, if Treason makes a Traytor, and rising in Arms against our lawful Sovereign, makes

makes a Rebel; and the notorious Breach of an Oath, taken solemnly in the Presence of Almighty God, be Perjury; all these Things meeting together in that Crew of bloody Miscreants, who brought about the shocking Tragedy of this fatal Day, they must be such. I am very far from charging all of the three Estates in Parliament with the Guilt of that sacred Blood which was this Day inhumanly spilt, tho' perhaps at first the Ears of most of them were too open to the Complaints and pretended Grievances of the discontented Faction, and were so unwarily ready to cut short the Prerogative of the Crown, that when they grew sensible of their Error, their Error was irrevocable, and their unhappy Master was no longer in a Capacity to protect himself or them. I know that many were from the Beginning, and in every Particular, that Prince's faithful Servants; Servants not to be byass'd by any tumultuous or insolent Complaints, or outward Outcries; and many who were hurry'd away at first with the popular Torrent, came afterwards to themselves, try'd resolutely to stem that raging Tide, which themselves had unfortunately help'd to raise above its usual Mark, and dy'd bravely at their gracious Master's Feet. But I do here, with every good Christian and honest *English* Subject, arraign the Memory of that ungodly *Junto*, the stinking Rump of an once lawful Parliament; or, as the Act for keeping this Fast authentically stiles them, --- 'A Party of wretched Men, 'desperately wicked, and harden'd in their Impieties; who ha-'ving plotted and contriv'd the Ruin and Destruction of this 'excellent Monarchy, and with it, of the true Reform'd Pro-'testant Religion, which had been so long protected by it, and 'flourish'd under it, found it necessary, for the perfecting of their 'abominable Designs, to throw down all the Bulwarks and 'Fences of Law, and to subvert the very Being and Constituti-'on of Parliaments, that so they might at last make their Way 'open to any farther Attempts upon the sacred Person of his 'Majesty himself, *&c.* What Methods these accurs'd Wretches pursu'd farther, the same Act of Parliament takes Notice of, and assures us, 'That they were as far from being true Prote-'stants, as they were from being true Subjects. --- Notwithstanding all the Noise they made about the Danger of Popery, from whence *England* never was at a greater Distance, and arbitrary Power, which none endeavour'd to introduce but themselves, as we see common Pick-Pockets and Burglarers are apt to cry *Thieves* first; a Piece of Policy which the present Generation have not quite forgotten yet. Here then we see the most zealous of Protestants destroying all Religion; Men of pretended tender Consciences breaking thro' all Oaths, and all, either Legal or Christian, Obligations; the sober Party, as they call themselves, transgressing all the Limits of Sobriety and good Nature; loyal and dutiful Subjects, raising Forces against the only, lawful, higher Powers; Guides of Consciences, and Men entrusted

entruſted with the Cure of Souls, hurrying them down into eternal Woes; and ſtriving, even to an Agony, not for that Faith which was once deliver'd to the Saints, but to break all Faith with God and Man, and to enlarge the Boundaries of the Kingdom of Darkneſs.

We find then, in the moſt impartial Account of the Tranſactions of theſe Times, every particular Thing, which had been declar'd Treaſon by the 25th of *Edward* the IIId, committed by theſe traiterous Hypocrites; War wag'd againſt the King himſelf, and him impriſon'd and murder'd; the Queen, his royal Conſort, impeach'd of Treaſon, not for any real Miſ-conduct of hers, but for her Adherence and Affection to her King and Huſband; the Heir apparent of the Crown forc'd to fly into foreign Countries for his Life, a Price ſet upon his Head, and, to own him, or to proclaim him King of his own natural Subjects, made High-Treaſon; all who were but ſuſpected to have any Regard to his Rights, taken up, impriſon'd, ſequeſtred, try'd by their helliſh High-Courts of Juſtice, and cruelly executed, only for Performance of their Duties; Privy-Counſellors were impeach'd, try'd, attainted, murder'd for ſuch Actions, as for which, no Law then in Being could touch one Hair of their Heads; the King's Great Seal ſet aſide, and one made by the Rebels themſelves, and every Man compell'd to make uſe of that; the Royal Mint ſeiz'd, and Money coin'd with their own Atchievement, and not the Image or Superſcription of *Cæſar*; not to mention the entire Demolition of the reform'd Epiſcopal Church of *England*, and the Subverſion of its Hierarchy, and one of his Majeſty's greateſt Eſtates in Parliament, High-Treaſon againſt the Son of God, the great King and Head of his Church, though not made Treaſon, by the fore-nam'd Act againſt the King of *England*; Rebels then we have here fighting againſt their lawful Sovereign, Traytors plotting to deſtroy him and Monarchy together, ſeizing upon all his Regalities, and ſtripping him of his Children, and of his Life; and perjur'd Rebels and Traitors we have, as having broken the Oath of God, which they had freely taken to their Sovereign without any Remorſe or Heſitancy. Having then, from the Statute for obſerving this Day, found that the Managers of the great Rebellion, and of the execrable Murder of *Charles* the Martyr, were really and irrefragably perjur'd Traitors and Rebels, when we remember how much of brave, pious, and heroick Lives, beſide that precious Life of the beſt of Kings, were loſt in hot or cold Blood, in the Fury of that unnatural War, theſe Conſiderations will bring us, in the

6th Place, not ſo much to enquire, as poſitively to determine, that *all thoſe who loſt their Lives In the Field, in the Service of their rightful Prince; and all thoſe who ſuffer'd upon the ſame Account, by the Hand of the Executioner, by the Command of the prevailing Rebels, were barbarouſly murder'd; and ſo the Guilt of innocent*

innocent Blood was brought upon their own Heads, and the whole Nation, who, though neither Judges, nor Profecutors of them, yet look'd on and filently fuffer'd it; the great Power of thofe who enflav'd the three Nations, might, in fome Meafure, leffen the general Guilt, but nothing can poffibly abate of the flagrant Guilt of the capital Rebels. We know that there are fome Wars very lawful and juftifiable, in which many muft neceffarily fall on both Sides; yet, while the Subjects fight under the Command of their own natural Princes, and have nothing to do to inquire into the firft Motives to the War, they are not look'd upon as Murderers on either Side; but for a private Centinel, newly lifted, and who had not yet taken the military Oath, to kill an Enemy, unlefs it were purely in his own Defence, was accounted Murder among the *Romans*, and the Man feverely punifhable by the Rules of their military Difcipline; nay, they were as hardly dealt with, who attack'd their Enemies before their General had given the Word; and if there was any Reafon for this Rigour, what Punifhments ought they to fuffer, who fall foul of their Fellow-Subjects, againft the pofitive Command of their Sovereign, or his Generals? All the People of thefe Kingdoms were, as I fhew'd before, the King's natural Subjects; they were all equally under his Protection; his Laws obferv'd were fufficient to keep the Peace among them; and none certainly can be faulty, indeed, for adhering to the Perfon of the King, and obeying the Laws then actually in Force. The fundamental Laws of thefe Kingdoms are, by no means, contrary to the Laws of God, or of Reafon; if any Law can be prov'd fo, it's actually null and void, tho' enacted by never fo great and united Authority. Thofe who without any lawful Commiffion, fight with and kill their Fellow-Subjects, for maintaining their prefent Laws, which are the only Laws in Force, and for affifting their Prince in putting them in Execution, muft be Murderers, under what other Pretence foever they fhed Blood. He who dies wrongfully, tho' under Pretext of Law, is really murder'd, much more is he murder'd who is kill'd by his Fellow-Subject, againft all the Laws of God and Man.

It has made fome Difputes among Men of Piety and Learning, whether, under the Chriftian Œconomy, it were lawful for the civil Magiftrate to make Ufe of the Sword, or to put any to Death for the greateft Crime; whether thefe Difputes have been reafonable or not, all thofe who dy'd for their Fidelity to their God and Saviour, were look'd upon as murder'd, tho' their Perfecutors took their Lives according to Laws then in Being, or occafionally enacted by the Prince; and were therefore call'd Martyrs, fuch Decrees being contrary to the Laws of God: What Guilt then muft they have contracted, what Damnation muft they have drawn upon themfelves, who, in Defiance to the fifth Commandment, in Defiance to all the Obligations laid upon them

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by the bleſſed *Jeſus* and his Apoſtles, that they ſhould follow Peace with all Men, that they ſhould ſubmit themſelves, whether to the King, as Supream, or unto Governors, as thoſe who are ſent by him, not only for Wrath, but for Conſcience Sake; in Defiance of all the Laws of a Nation, made by the free and full Conſent, and at the humble Petition of their unbrib'd, unmercenary Repreſentations, could draw the Sword of Rebellion againſt their lawful Governors, and their Chriſtian Brethren, who honeſtly ſtood up in Defence of our excellent Conſtitution, and the Perſon of their pious Sovereign, *Charles* the Iſt, who did his Part; he appear'd in the Head of his honeſt and faithful Servants, and expos'd his precious Life to all the Dangers of the bloody Field, to reſcue them from the wicked Deſigns of cruel and blood-thirſty Men. Now every Motion theſe Men made in all that unnatural War, to deſtroy the King, or his faithful Servants, were Treaſon; every Perſon who dy'd in Defence of their Prince, and his juſt Authority, their Blood being ſhed without Authority, and againſt Law, were wickedly murder'd; but above all, thoſe were murder'd with the moſt ſolemn Circumſtances of Impiety, who being envy'd for their Goodneſs and Wiſdom, or taken Priſoners on the Surrendry of Garriſons, or in the Field of Battel, were attainted, ſentenc'd to Death, and villainouſly executed, for daring to do what the known Laws of the Kingdom requir'd of them, and all this under the odious Title of Rebels, Traytors, and Murderers; but if they call the Maſter of the Houſe *Belzebub*, what will they not preſume to call his Servants? Thus that noble and great Earl of *Strafford* was taken off in ſuch a Way, that the Murderers themſelves were afraid, leſt, in better Times, their horrid Wickedneſs ſhould be drawn into Precedent againſt themſelves. Thus, again, that worthy, zealous, and learned Aſſerter of the Proteſtant Cauſe, Arch-biſhop *Laud*, was martyr'd by no better Authority than an Ordinance of the pretended Houſe of Commons; a Houſe ſo far from being a Court of Judicature, that, as a Houſe, they can't ſo much as adminiſter an Oath. Thus dy'd the valiant and loyal Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Capel*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Liſle*, and many others, the Glories of their own honourable Families, but to the eternal Diſgrace of a rebellious and unconſidering People. Theſe were all murder'd; and thoſe, again, who, at the Inſtigation of falſe Teachers and notorious Traitors, dy'd with their Swords in their Hands, againſt their God, their King, and their Laws, were by thoſe who drew them in barbarouſly murder'd, and eternally damn'd together, and their Blood and their Souls will be requir'd of them, and all who are related to thoſe deſperate Principles on which they went in that black Rebellion, of this Generation.

For whatever ignorant or time-ſerving Divines, Lawyers, or Stateſmen, in Confederacy with them, may preach, or plead, or practice; none but *Papiſts* ever formerly laid down ſuch Principles as the Rebellion in 41, or the Murder in 48 were carry'd on by;

by; and none but *Papists or Atheists* can ever seasonably defend them. The State of Nature, the Original of Power from the People, and Princes being only their Trustees, and deposeable whenever the People suppose them unfaithful to their Trust, were Notions tolerable, it may be, in Heathens, who had no better Light than what they found among themselves, of whom Mr. *Hobbs*, that great Oracle of many of our modern Divines and Politicians, says truly enough, — There are several Books written by *Roman* Citizens, during the Flourishing of that Commonwealth, or soon after it was turn'd into a Monarchy again, and by *Greek* Authors, during the Prosperity of the *Athenian* Republick, full of such Precepts and such Examples, as serve only to render the Minds of the Populace inveterate against Monarchical Government; and that for no other Reason, but because in those Books they find the foulest Villanies perpetrated by perfidious Wretches, as particularly, the Murder of Kings highly prais'd and recommended, especially if they had but fix'd the Name of Tyrant upon them, before they kill'd them. But the Thoughts of the Vulgar are yet more corrupted, by reading such Books, and hearing of such Sermons, as subject the Regal Authority to any other. So that, when they have serv'd the Ambition of others in killing their Kings, they are ready to fancy that they do God good Service. — To prevent which Mischief in elder Days, *Sophocles, the Son of Amphiclides*, made a Law, that 'no Philosopher should 'presume, upon Pain of Death, to open a School, 'till he got a Decree of Leave from the *Athenian* Senate and People. — And *Plato* thought not fit, that any Poet should dare to make any Thing that intrench'd upon the Laws of the Commonwealth, or to represent any such to the Publick as honest or good. Nor should it be lawful for him to shew any thing he had written to any Person in private, 'till such Time as those who were appointed to be Judges in the Case, and who were empower'd to put the Laws in Execution, should have perus'd and approv'd it. — But we need not go no farther than our own Histories, to shew how insecure the Government of Princes must needs be, while the Lawfulness of resisting rightful Princes by Force of Arms, is openly asserted; and a Man may wonder, that those who have the Word of God before them, to consult and call themselves Christians, should dare to talk of what they call a State of Nature, and to deprive God himself of the Honour of being the sole Founder of all Government, and therefore of Monarchy in particular; and where they have no one Instance of Rebellion against idolatrous Princes, for their Idolatry, even where the Law of God himself made it Death, without Mercy, for any to worship Idols; where the great Captain of our Salvation never inlisted any into his Service, in Opposition to his own Vicegerents, and himself and his Apostles thought it necessary to put all private Christians in Mind — To

Diog. Laert. in Theophra.

De Leg. l. 7.

be subject to Principalities and Powers: — A Charge equivalent to that of being instant in Season and out of Season; and where Men of good Parts and Sense are forc'd to make such Interpretations of inflexible Texts, as the Gloser of the Canon Law made upon the Word *Statuimus*, when he explain'd it by *Abrogamus*. If sovereign Princes have any Regard to their own Safety, they can never look on the Preachers of such Doctrines, but as a Parcel of factious and seditious Men, who study to embroil all Governments, and would fain keep the Crown always in Pupilage to themselves, under the Name of the *People*, and make every Man a competent Judge of the Male-Administration of the Sovereign.

If the Broachers of such Notions did not by the *People* always understand themselves, it were impossible that παν̃ς Κορακ@ κακον ω̃ον should tell us of the People's expecting some Things, which, if their Votes were gather'd one by one, would not amount to a two hundredth Part of them. I'm pretty confident, that there's no Warrant in the whole Book of God, for People calling their Princes to an Account for their Misgovernment, nor is there any Need of such a Power in them. We are infallibly assur'd, that *Promotion cometh neither from the East, nor from the West, from the North, nor from the South, but it's God alone who puts down one, and sets up another*: He therefore is the sole competent and righteous Judge of the Miscarriages of Princes; and he who made them, let them be never so great, can make his Sword approach to them, and so he does; *Saul* had no sooner forgotten his Duty to God, but, though the People took no Notice of it, God rejected him and his Family from reigning over *Israel*, deliver'd him up to be insulted by the common Enemy, and gave his Throne to the Son of *Jesse*, the Man after his own Heart; and no sooner had *David* sinn'd, as an unjust Tyrant and Adulterer, but tho' *Israel* murmur'd not, God gave a Commission to the Sword to ravage his Family, and made him fly from his *Capital City*, to escape the unnatural Cruelty of his double Rebel *Absalom*. *Solomon* had no sooner indulg'd his idolatrous Wives and Concubines, but God rais'd him Enemies; and as a Punishment to him for his Ingratitude, rent ten Tribes of twelve from his indiscreet Son. And where Heathen Kings and Emperors grew Persecutors of the Church of Christ, he found Means to punish them according to their Deserts. In this Kingdom the Usurpation of *Henry the First* was visited in the Loss of his Heirs Male, and his Daughter's never coming to the Crown herself. *Stephen* left no Heir behind him. *Richard the First*, tho' a great Man, yet having been in Rebellion against his King and Father, was kill'd in a Siege, and dy'd childless. *Edward the Third* having, tho' not of himself, slept into his Father's Throne too soon, lost the best and bravest of Sons in his declining Years, and had his Grandson, no vicious Prince, pull'd down by his Kinsman *Henry the Fourth*. *Henry the Fourth*'s Son was taken away in his full Career of Victories; and his Grandson, a Prince

of

of excellent Parts and Piety, for the Sins of his Grandfather, depos'd and barbarously murder'd. *Edward the Fourth*, a lewd, ambitious, perjur'd Prince, had his Cruelty and Falshood to the House of *Lancaster* reveng'd by the untimely Death of his two innocent Sons, by the traiterous Contrivance of his own Brother, and the sad Catastrophe of that Brother's unnatural Usurpation.

It's granted that, as in many of the Cases mention'd, God sometimes permits Subjects to be the Instruments of his Judgment upon their Kings; *Jehu*, by particular divine Commission destroy'd *Joram* and *Ahaziah* in one Day; and *Jeroboam* had Leave from God to strip *Rehoboam* of the greater Part of his Kingdom. So he punish'd several of the persecuting *Roman* Emperors, such as *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Valeman*, *Julian*, *Valens*, by their Enemy, or mutinous Armies, or treacherous Friends, or by his own more immediate Stroke; but God never made Use of any good Man in these strange Wotks of his; the Executioners of his Wrath were Men of loose or no Principles, either religious or civil; such Rods as were fit for nothing but to be cast into the Fire, when God had done with them. Again, sometimes an impious, degenerate, and ingrateful People, for their loud crying Sighs, are permitted to destroy the rest of their Princes with their own Hands, as not deserving to be govern'd by such excellent Men; so the *Jews* brought that incomparable Prince *Josias* to his End; God was resolv'd to destroy *Judah* and *Jerusalem* for their Wickedness; *Josias* was that *Lot* who stood his revenging Hands, and was to be remov'd e'er the King of *Babylon* could do any thing. The *Roman Empire*, degenerated from their ancient Christian Zeal, was to be ravag'd by the barbarous Nations; but *Gratian* was first to be taken away from the Evil to come; *England* was to be mark'd out for Vengeance, but that Saint-like King, *Henry the Sixth, with his hopeful Son*, must be cut off, e'er *Edward*'s Lust, or *Richard*'s Usurpation, could come on. *Edward* the Sixth must be destroy'd, before popish Cruelty could shew it self again in its proper Colours. And *Charles* the First, a Prince of unparallell'd Piety and Virtue, must be turn'd out of his Throne first, and then out of the World, before the fanatick Rage of Enthusiastick Traitors could take Place, or Hell be quite let loose in Perjury, Treason, Rebellion, Murder, Usurpation; or the most exquisite Tyranny in the World could, according to their Demerits, harrass a stiff-neck'd, unthankful, hypocritical Generation; though, after a dismal Interval, it pleas'd God, in a miraculous Manner, to settle the Martyr's rightful Heir upon his Father's Throne, and, with him, to restore our ancient Laws, and our reform'd Religion, to its former Honour and Pre-eminence.

God then concerning himself so far in the Affairs of Nations and Kingdoms, especially theirs who profess his holy Religion, why should Men be covetous of the Character of the worst of Christians? Why should they pawn their Souls to Hell for that which they miscall the *publick Good*? Who has requir'd this at

their Hands? Has God no Care of his People when they suffer? Must they do themselves Right, for fear they should find no Justice with him? Have they ever found Rebels prosper long, or Revelations tend to the Peace and Prosperity of any Nation? If Men repent heartily of their own Sins, and seek humbly to that God, in whose Hands the Hearts of Princes are, is it impossible that he should rescue them from their real Troubles? Did not he change *Manasseh* from an idolatrous and cruel, to an excellent and truly Pa tellant Prince? Could not he give *Mordecai*, and his Country-Men, Favour in the Sight of *Ahasuerus* King of *Persia*, and the Christians Peace from all their Persecutors, and *England* Deliverances from the Fury, both of *Papists and Fanaticks?* But if we'll do all for our selves, without any manner of Dependance upon Heaven, or any Regard to the Precepts of Christianity; if we'll plot and rebel against our lawful Superiors, murder our Brethren in hot or cold Blood; if we cannot bear Virtue in high Degrees, but must blacken and vilify the Characters of Princes, we shall soon be fill'd with our own Devices, and going on still to do wickedly, we shall suddenly be destroy'd, both we and our King.

But being call'd this Day to humble our Souls before God, for that Sin in which *pretended Protestants* out-did the utmost Extravagancies of *profess'd Papists*, which I mention, not to excuse or extenuate the dangerous Principles of Popery, but to lay in open View the Practices of Atheists and Hypocrites; give me Leave, as *Anthony* did before the *Romans*, when he made *Cæsar's* Funeral Oration, to lay before you the bloody Robe of our *British* murder'd *Cæsar*. *Charles* the IIst of blessed Memory, the Son of Kings by a long Descent of many Generations, upon the Demise of his Father, was, by the three Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, joyfully receiv'd as their lawful and rightful Monarch, and, as such, receiv'd the *Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy* from all such as the Law requir'd should take it. He was a Prince of the greatest personal Virtues of any Christian Prince in many Ages; he never set his Subjects an Example of Lewdness, Epicurism, Intemperance, Cruelty, Revenge, Swearing, Blasphemy, Profaneness, or any other Immorality whatsoever; we don't pretend that he was a Man without Sin, but that constant Watch he kept upon himself would not let him be guilty wilfully of any. He was so steady in the Protestant Religion, as establish'd in the Church of *England*, that all the Arguments and Artifices of *Spain*, all the Fondnesses of a Wife, all the Ingratitude, Perjuries, Treasons, and Rebellions of those who pretended to be the greatest Zealots for the same Religion (the most dangerous Temptations in the World) could never alienate him from it. His Justice and Tenderness for his Subjects, shew'd it self upon every Occasion; and, for fifteen Years together, while the Spirit of Faction was in some Measure kept down, no Nations under Heaven were more happy, or more flourishing than these were, under his peaceable and auspicious Government.

But

But this Man, and this Peace, was what Hell envy'd, and what *Rome* could not bear with; and which wicked and ungodly Men could not look on, without the moſt dreadful Apprehenſions which ever tormented guilty Conſciences: On this Man therefore they reſolv'd to be reveng'd. The Sons of *Belial*, thoſe helliſh Jugglers, caſt ſuch a Miſt before the Eyes even of ſome well-meaning Men, that they, for ſome Time, believ'd it poſſible, that a ſincere Proteſtant might bring in Popery; and that a Perſon who himſelf obſerv'd the Laws in the greateſt Exactneſs, might deſign to bring in Tyranny and arbitrary Government. The Rebels, as they then deſign'd to be, if they could not compaſs their Ends other Ways, threw ſo much Dirt upon the Royal Character, rais'd ſo many Suſpicions and Jealouſies of the King in the Minds of his Subjects, that his Innocence and Goodneſs could no more protect him, than they could protect his bleſſed Maſter before him from the Fury of the *Jews*. They try'd firſt to perſwade him to unking himſelf, by the Propoſitions they made him, when they thought him wholly uncapable of oppoſing them. They try'd to blaſt his Reputation and Honour among Foreigners, and at Home they inſinuated his Want of Parts and Abilities, who had one of the ſoundeſt and beſt turn'd Heads for Argument and Buſineſs in *Chriſtendom*, as they, who had believ'd the Scandal, found, when they had the Happineſs to converſe with him. For any Man then to ſupply his King with Men, Money, or Proviſions, with a Crew of deſperate Traitors, was Treaſon; for Clergy-men to preach up the Duty of Subjects to their natural Prince, to move any to petition for Peace, and to ſtand by the untainted Doctrines of the Church of *England*, was the higheſt Malignity, and rewarded with Sequeſtration or a Priſon. When they had once got their King into their Hands, they'd not allow him the Uſe of his own *Chaplains*, the Attendance of his own *Friends* or *Servants*, or the Uſe of the *Common Prayers* of the Church, in which he might addreſs himſelf to his Maker; while he who had breath'd nothing but Peace to them who delighted in War, even when he was in his higheſt, and they in their loweſt Circumſtances, and was ſpending his Time in holy Meditations, and pouring out his humble Soul to God in Prayers for his obdurate Rebels and Perſecutors. If ill Air, and ill Uſage, and ill and diſagreeable Company, could have kill'd him ſooner, it would have ſav'd the Rebels much Trouble and much Scandal; but the laſt his natural Goodneſs conquer'd, and the other God's wiſe Providence put by for a while, to let the World ſee how far Royal Patience, and rebellious Wickedneſs, when left to it ſelf, might go. He who ſo much lamented his own Weakneſs in giving Way to the Murder of his faithful *Strafford*, could never have been capable of Cruelty himſelf: No, the Family of the STUARTS were always merciful, as many, who little deſerv'd it, have experimentally found.

Think then, my Brethren, that you ſee this great, this good, this wiſe, this religious, yet brave Monarch, before a Herd of

Boors, Men of no Birth, no Worth, no Honour, baited by an impudent pettifogging Lawyer, under the Name of *President* of what they nick-nam'd an *High Court of Justice*, and a Juncto of cut-throat Rebels, accus'd by a mercenary Wretch, who could own him for one of the best of Men and Princes, and yet declare, that *he must die, and Monarchy with him.* See that venerable Majestick Face scornfully spit upon, and all the Affronts and Indignities put upon a King, which an ill-bred, ill-natur'd Soldiery knew how to offer him, and himself patiently wiping off the filthy Spittle, and expressing no other Resentment of their Barbarity, but Pity. See him brought at last to the Scaffold, as a Lamb to the Slaughter, to die a Martyr for the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of his People, undaunted yet, and unconcern'd at the hideous Prospect of a violent Death. Think on those wise and gracious Words he there utter'd. Observe his Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven, and his Soul more pleas'd with a near View of that immarcessible Crown of Glory to which he was from thence call'd, than it had ever been with the greatest Lustre of an Earthly Crown. Observe the Emissaries of *Rome* rejoycing, and the Exultations of triumphant Hypocrites, while Floods of Tears roll down the mournful Cheeks of his poor desolate Friends, and of all honest and sincere *British* Christians. All pious Hearts were shock'd at the fatal Blow. Christianity it self felt deadly Convulsions at it; and the very *Judas's* themselves, whose malicious Activity had laid their Sovereign's sacred Head at the Feet of a Company of Godless Murderers, were almost ready to relent, when it was too late to save their Prince's Life. Bring but these Things to Memory, my Friends; reflect impartially upon them, and continue hard-hearted if you can. But I see there are some here, who are so far from grieving for the Sufferings of the Royal Martyr, that they would have their Serpentine Followers always biting the Heels of Monarchy, and making Subjects, who act by Christian Measures, Asses. They long for another Carouze of Royal Blood; they don't really like any one King better than another, but hate Monarchy; flatter their Prince to blind his Eyes, but would rather have a Commonwealth than him. Let such kindle themselves a Fire, and delight themselves in the Sparks of it, may but God at last forgive the crying Blood of this gloomy Day. May he graciously forgive our Enemies, Persecutors, and Slanderers, and turn their Hearts. And that they may be Subjects capable of that Pardon, may they make Haste to turn to their God with sincere Repentance. Our publick Affairs have yet but a cloudy Aspect, and are but indifferently settled. That we may divert God's threatening Vegeance; that the youngest of our Eyes may never see the horrid Sin of this Day repeated in our Nation, let us learn, before it be too late, to live in the true Faith and Fear of God, in true Loyalty and Obedience to our lawful Sovereign, and in Brotherly Love and Charity one towards another. *Which God of his Mercy grant.* Amen. Amen.

F I N I S.